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Editorial Note

Historical Revisionism and the Legacy of George Orwell

During the Second World War, George Orwell wrote a weekly radio political commentary, designed to counter German and Japanese propaganda in India, that was broadcast over the BBC overseas service. His wartime work for the BBC was a major inspiration for his monumental novel, *1984*. Very few readers of *1984* know, for example, that Orwell's attack against the perverse double-talk language called Newspeak was based on the author's revulsion against Basic English, an artificial language that Churchill's wartime cabinet wanted the BBC to use in its overseas propaganda. Similarly, Orwell's model for the lying Ministry of Truth was the British wartime Ministry of Information, which censored BBC broadcasts. The shorthand form, Minitrue, was taken directly from the Ministry of Information telegraphic address, Miniform.

Throughout his lifetime, the great English writer continually questioned all "official" or "accepted" versions of history. As early as 1945, just after the end of the war in Europe, he expressed doubts about the widespread stories of "gas oven" exterminations (*Notes on Nationalism*). George Orwell was a revisionist. He detested officially sanctioned atrocity and hate propaganda. If he were alive today he would certainly be nauseated by the pervasive Holocaust propaganda of our times. And as a staunch lifelong supporter of free speech and open historical inquiry, he would undoubtedly defend the right of revisionist historians to present their challenging views to the world.

It is worth noting that last July's devastating fire-bomb attack against the offices of the Institute for Historical Review, the foremost center of dissident historical inquiry, took place during the year made immortal by *1984*. The terrorist attack also forced the rescheduling of the revisionist conference dedicated to Orwell's memory. Symbolically, the July fire-bombing of the Institute was an attack against the spirit of George Orwell in our times.

Life in the western world today differs markedly from what Orwell suggested it might be like in *1984*. In contrast to the squalid, puritanical and thoroughly regimented life of *1984*'s Oceania, American life today is increasingly anarchic and self-indulgent. But there are also many ominous similarities. Deceptive "Newspeak" terms are in wide use today. One of the most odious examples is "affirmative action" which, despite its benign

ring, is a dishonest label for a vast government-imposed program of anti-White racial discrimination. And like the hysterical "hate sessions" unforgettably described in *1984*, Americans endure an endless array of hyper-emotional propaganda designed to whip up mindless hatred of anything smacking of "Nazism" or "Hitlerism." While the attention span of the American mass media normally seems to last no longer than a few weeks or months, its appetite for Holocaust atrocity propaganda is apparently insatiable.

Orwell himself recognized that "unacceptable" views are suppressed in modern democratic society not in the crude, heavy-handed way described in *1984*, but much more subtly and insidiously. He put it this way:

> At any given moment there is an orthodoxy, a body of ideas which it is assumed that all right-thinking people will accept without question. It is not exactly forbidden to state this or that or the other, but it is "not done." . . . Anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing, either in the popular press or in the highbrow periodicals.

Accordingly, Holocaust revisionism is vilified with particular vehemence, almost invariably by individuals who have obviously never made the slightest effort to discover what revisionists have actually written. When the mass media does bother to describe revisionist views on the Holocaust to the public, the usual practice is to portray them as so ludicrous and childishly absurd that no rational person could possibly take them seriously, but also as just plausible enough so that others, not quite so enlightened, might be taken in. The Simon Wiesenthal Holocaust Center, for example, charges that revisionists claim that concentration camp crematories were not really crematories at all, but bread ovens. Revisionists are often accused of claiming that the well-known photos of emaciated corpses found in camps at the end of the war are fakes, or that no Jews ever died in the camps. Such perverse misrepresentation is very reminiscent of the passage in *1984* which describes a "hate session" presentation of a concocted speech by the monstrous and semi-legendary arch-fiend Goldstein:

> Goldstein was delivering his usual venomous attack upon the doctrines of the Party—an attack so exaggerated and perverse that a child should have been able to see through it, and yet just plausible enough to fill one with an alarmed feeling that other people, less level-headed than oneself, might be taken in by it.

The powers that be are not content with merely propagandistic or behind-the-scenes methods of maintaining their self-serving

portrayals of history. While historical revisionism has always been strictly forbidden in Communist countries, now even some ostensibly democratic governments are trying to legally suppress "unacceptable" historical views. The West German government, for example, has approved a proposed law that would prohibit historical works that "minimize" or "deny" Nazi crimes.

The Canadian government has banned the importation of many purely political and historical works, including *Behind Communism* and *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, on the basis of a law which makes it illegal to import literature "of an immoral or indecent character." Bowing to pressure from the B'nai B'rith, Canadian officials added *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* to its list of banned books. Canadian police even raided a couple of university libraries to seize copies of this supposedly dangerous book from library shelves. The B'nai B'rith recently asked the Canadian government to forbid the importation of all *future* issues of *The Journal of Historical Review*, a particularly pernicious violation of the time-honored principle of the presumption of innocence. Of course, the hypocritical import ban will have no significant long-term effect on the ever wider distribution of revisionist works in Canada. As Arthur Butz put it, the Canadian move against his book was rather like locking the barn door after the horses have already escaped.

The most spectacular recent effort to legally suppress free historical inquiry and expression was the Toronto trial of revisionist Ernst Zuendel on a charge of "publishing false news likely to cause injury or mischief to a public interest." Despite the guilty verdict against the German-Canadian for publishing the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, the trial was a public relations victory for Holocaust revisionism.

Canadian television and newspapers gave the eight-week-long case prominent and detailed coverage. Among those who testified on behalf of Zuendel were IHR Advisory Committee members Dr. Robert Faurisson, Dr. William Lindsey, Ditlieb Felderer and Udo Walendy. Generally unbiased press reports appeared under startling headlines, such as: "Gas was not used in prison camps, expert tells court," "Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told," "Genocide a myth, jury told," "The Nazi 'final solution' meant relocating Jews," "View of Belsen was propaganda, trial told," "Mass gassing impossible, says chemist," and "Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says." Never before have revisionist views received such widespread coverage in any country. As a result of the trial, more Canadians than ever now doubt the Holocaust story.

The apparent consensus of Canadian newspapers and news commentators is that the Zuendel case was a major mistake and

that the seldom used law under which he was tried should be abolished. For example, *Toronto Star* columnist Gerald Caplan complained that "someone made a terrible, terrible blunder" in putting Zuendel on trial because "the very magnitude of the attention he has received has afforded him and witnesses who supported him some legitimacy in the eyes of innocent Canadians." In an editorial entitled "A threat to free speech," the *Toronto Star* pointed out that the vaguely worded law under which Zuendel was tried is ominously characteristic of totalitarian societies. The *Star* compared the Zuendel trial to similarly perverse legal efforts to suppress Galileo's supposedly dangerous idea that the sun is the center of our solar system and, more recently, the theory of evolution. *Toronto Sun* columnist George Jonas lamented that the trial "handed them (Zuendel and his supporters) a victory on a platter." In the words of another *Sun* columnist, Walter Stewart, Zuendel "won the propaganda war hands down."

The increasingly frantic efforts by "thought police" organizations such as B'nai B'rith are manifestations of weakness, not strength. For despite the tremendous obstacles, the trend is clear. Historical revisionism has been growing ever more influential. Revisionist works can be found in ever greater numbers of college and public libraries across the United States. And the phoenix-like rebirth of the IHR from the ashes of terrorist attack is proof of the Institute's undaunted vitality and an expression of its supporters' faith in the ultimate triumph of truth over lies.

One of the great strengths of historical revisionism in its struggle for public acceptance is that it holds the moral high ground. In spite of their pervasive propaganda and awesome power, the B'nai B'rith and its allies operate like thieves in the night. They cannot tolerate the glare of scrutiny or the light of open debate. Despite their yapping about human rights and democracy, *they* are the ones trying to stifle free speech and open inquiry. In the long run, their deceitful and hypocritical efforts just won't wash with men and women of good will.

In the wake of the arson attack against the Institute's offices last July, hundreds of letters of support and encouragement arrived from around the world. Among the many who expressed their solidarity with the IHR were two of the most widely-read and respected historians of our time. British author, David Irving, who addressed the 1983 IHR conference, told the Institute: "I was deeply shocked to hear of the firebomb attack on your premises. . . . The inaction of the Torrance police department since then is also disturbing."

And American Pulitzer prize-winning author John Toland wrote:

> When I learned of the torching of the office-warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review I was shocked. And when I heard no

> condemnation of this act of terrorism on television and read no protests in the editorial pages of our leading newspapers or from the halls of academia, I was dismayed and incensed. Where are those defenders of democracy who over the years have so vigorously protested the burning of books by Hitler? Are they only summer soldiers of democracy, selective in their outrage? I call on all true believers in democracy to join me in public denunciation of the recent burning of books in Torrance, California.

The fact that the Institute for Historical Review is so hated and vilified by the bigoted forces of darkness that seek to strangle any contrary voice, no matter how modest, is itself evidence of its importance as a bulwark against intellectual tyranny and scholastic repression. Just as challenges to political and social orthodoxy are vitally important in any healthy society, so also is it essential to challenge orthodox portrayals of the past. That is the work of historical revisionism. It deserves the support of everyone who honestly supports the search for historical truth, no matter where it may lead. George Orwell would surely agree.

—Mark Weber

Correspondence

Dr. Faurisson's Comments

About "A Challenge to David Irving," which appeared in the last issue of *The Journal*, Winter, 1984 (pp. 288-305).

I am very sorry that five corrections were not made to this article, to wit:

–p. 296, 1.29: instead of "Kurt Gerstein" should read "Kurt Gerstein or of Konrad Morgen"

–p. 297, 1.1: instead of "things" should read "events"

–p. 300, 1.16: instead of "the other defendants" should read "other defendants"

–p. 301, 1.3: instead of "does not at all seem" should read "does not seem"

–p. 303, 1.24: instead of "Eichmann, Heinrich Mueller" should read "Oswald Pohl, Heinrich Mueller, Eichmann"

In addition, a portion was omitted which I ask be included in the next issue:

On p. 718 of *Hitler's War*, David Irving writes:

> In October 1944, Himmler ordered the extermination of the Jews to stop.

Continued on page 122

Orwell's '1984': Was Orwell Right?

JOHN BENNETT

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.—O'Brien in *1984*

Every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed.—I.F. Stone

Many of the predictions made by George Orwell in his book *1984* in relation to "Big Brother" surveillance, corruption of language and control of history have already come about to a great extent in Communist countries and to some extent in the West. The powers of security police in Western countries to intercept mail and tap phones have often been extended, police agencies keep numerous files on law-abiding citizens, and more and more public officials have the right to enter private homes without a warrant. Many government departments keep computerized information on citizens and there is a danger that this information will be fed into a centralized data bank.

Attempts by law enforcement agencies to obtain more information through informer schemes, through new law enforcement agencies, and through new techniques such as computerization of information, are understandable, but the cumulative effect of such Big Brother activities is to make countries such as the United States, Britain and Australia increasingly totalitarian societies. The corruption of language described in *1984* is widespread in the media today, with "Newspeak" terms such as democratic, socialist, fascist, war criminal, freedom fighter, racist and many other expressions being used in a deliberately deceptive, propagandistic way to whip up mass hysteria or simply to ensure that people can never achieve even an approximation of the truth.

Control of the Past

The fact that almost all media commentary, book reviews and feature articles about the book *1984* have ignored the crucial role of controlling the past indicates that Orwell's prophecy has already been partially fulfilled. The central theme of his book, the control of history, has already been largely written out of references to his book and has disappeared down the memory hole.[1]

The book's hero, Winston Smith, works in the Ministry of Truth rewriting and falsifying history. The Ministry writes people out of history—they go "down the memory hole" as though they never existed. The Ministry also creates people as historical figures who never existed. Big Brother, who controls the State of Oceania, uses "thought police" to ensure that people in the inner and outer Party are kept under control. Oceania is at perpetual war with either Eurasia or Eastasia. Alliances between these three states change without rational explanation. "Hate weeks" are organized against Goldstein, the leader of an alleged underground opposition to Big Brother, and hate sessions are organized against either Eurasia or Eastasia. O'Brien, a member of the inner Party, pretends to Smith that he is part of the Goldstein conspiracy against Big Brother. He asks Smith what he would most like to drink a toast to. Smith chooses to drink a toast, not to the death of Big Brother, the confusion of the Thought Police, or Humanity, but "to the past." Both Smith and O'Brien, the main characters of *1984*, agree that the past is more important. Unfortunately, almost all of last year's media commentary about Orwell's greatest book ignored the importance of the past and control of the past as a theme in *1984*. The extent of censorship of history is indicated by suppression of the fact that Orwell originally considered giving the title *1948* to his book because of widespread Big Brother tendencies already in the year 1948, including control of history.[2] It is also indicated by the suppression of the fact that Orwell queried the allegation that there were gas chambers in Poland.

Orwell wrote that

> indifference to objective truth is encouraged by the sealing off of one part of the world from another, which makes it harder and harder to discover what is actually happening. There can often be doubt about the most enormous events. . . .The calamities that are constantly being reported—battles, massacres, famines, revolutions—tend to inspire in the average person a feeling of unreality. One has no way of verifying the facts, one is not even fully certain that they have happened, and one is always presented with totally different interpretations from different sources. Probably the truth is undiscoverable but the facts will be so dishonestly set forth in

> that the ordinary reader can be forgiven either for swallowing lies or for failing to form an opinion . . .[3]

Because of his experience in the Spanish civil war that media reports of the conflict bore no relation to what was happening, Orwell developed a great skepticism about the ability of even a well intentioned and honest writer to get to the truth. He was generally skeptical of atrocity stories.

It should be noted that Orwell worked for the BBC for a time, and the Ministry of Truth is modeled to some extent on the BBC. Orwell noted that the BBC put out false hate propaganda during World War II, and controlled history by censoring news about the genocidal Allied policy of leveling German cities by saturation bombing. Orwell's beliefs about the control of the past, including the recent past, also derived from his experiences in the Spanish civil war, where he found that "no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain for the first time I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts."[4]

The popular perception of history is based on brainwashing by the mass media, indoctrination by the education system, peer group pressure, self-censorship and television "docudramas." Docudramas such as *Winds of War; Tora, Tora, Tora; Gandhi; Gallipoli;* and *Holocaust,* which pervade people's *1984*-like telescreens, are a blend of fact and fiction. They give a clear and believable, but usually completely misleading view, of historical events. Such devices to indoctrinate and mislead people are not new. Shakespeare's docudramas, such as *Richard III,* served a similar purpose. The pervasiveness of television and widespread literacy make people more susceptible to brainwashing by Big Brother agencies than was possible in the past. The twentieth century is the century of mass propaganda. Due to different systems of propaganda, people in different countries such as Russia, China, and the United States will have quite different beliefs about history. The "Winston Smiths" in Communist countries who query approved history are likely to be more harshly treated than their counterparts in the West.

Book Censorship and Treatment of Dissidents

Many of the books mentioned in this essay are, for a variety of reasons, including direct censorship, trade boycott and self-censorship by booksellers, distributors and librarians, difficult to obtain. (However, many of them can be ordered from the Institute for Historical Review.) Obtaining banned books and access to restricted information plays a major role in Orwell's best-known work. One of the most important developments in *1984* is when Winston Smith obtains a book by Goldstein which had been effec-

tively banned by the Thought Police. Pressure from people with a thought-police mentality inhibits freedom of speech in my own country, Australia, and has helped to restrict the circulation of some books. Extreme cases of book censorship in the West have occurred in West Germany, where Professor Helmut Diwald was forced to delete revisionist portions from his *History of the Germans.* Retired judge Dr. Wilhelm Staeglich had his book on Auschwitz seized, and the University of Tuebingen, which had granted him his law degree, deprived him of it, ironically under a law passed by the Nazis. In Sweden, Ditlieb Felderer's writings were also recently seized and he was imprisoned for the "thought crime" of querying the Holocaust. His arrest and detention should alarm all people concerned with civil liberties. Mr. Felderer, who has questioned the extent of alleged German war atrocities and pointed out the extent of Allied war atrocities, including one million civilian deaths from saturation bombing of German and Japanese cities, was jailed because of his writings. Following the precedent of Soviet authorities in dealing with dissident thinkers, he was forced to undergo psychiatric examinations. The jailing of Felderer for querying the establishment version of history and his harassment by psychiatrists is clearly an attempt to intimidate him and other free thinkers who have dared to ask challenging questions about the past. The harassment or persecution of Felderer is part of a worldwide attempt to silence revisionist writers. An unsuccessful effort was made to silence Professor Robert Faurisson, a French revisionist historian, by court proceedings in 1983 involving potential penalties of $200,000, while moves are currently being made, supported by some so-called historians, to remove Professor Arthur Butz from his teaching position at Northwestern University. Canadian postal authorities denied the use of the postal system to revisionist publicist Ernst Zuendel for a time. Various West German writers have been imprisoned, while a French revisionist was assassinated a few years ago. Many civil libertarians, such as the distinguished Jewish intellectuals Noam Chomsky and Alfred Lilienthal, have protested against the attempts to silence revisionist historians, while other so-called civil libertarians have been strangely silent, preferring to defend only the civil liberties of those whose views they agree with.

Gandhi and Bose

Henry Ford said that history is bunk, while Dean Inge noted that historians have the power denied to almighty God of altering the past. These statements are relevant to the film *Gandhi,* which was mainly financed by the government of India and which won

numerous best-film, best-actor and best-director awards. It is widely accepted as an accurate biographical portrayal of Mohandas K. Gandhi. The film portrays the Indian political leader as a saintly figure virtually without fault and suggests that he and his campaign of non-violent resistance to British rule was the reason India gained independence in 1947. The portrayal of Gandhi in the film of that name is a massive distortion. The film ignores Gandhi's tyrannical habits, his hypocrisy, his appalling treatment of his wife and children, his bizarre fixation on bowel functions, and his support for violence in various wars. The film ignores Gandhi's views that sexual attraction between men and women is unnatural and that he demanded celibacy between even married members of his entourage. He was so fanatical about his views on sex that he disowned his son Harilal for wishing to marry, and repeatedly tested his own will by sleeping nude with young women. The film *Gandhi* ignores the Mahatma's elitist attitudes. He is portrayed as a champion of freedom and individual rights, but in real life he was steadfastly opposed to granting additional rights to India's millions of Untouchables. The film's portrayal of Gandhi as a pacifist is incorrect. He supported the British military in the Boer War and World War I. The so-called pacifist gave his approval to men who, as he put it, were "using violence in a normal cause." He gave his blessing to the Nawab of Maler Kolta when he gave orders to shoot ten Moslems for every Hindu killed in his State. Gandhi's hypocrisy and double standards (not mentioned in the film) are also indicated by his opposition to modern medicine and his refusal to allow his wife to receive a life-saving shot of penicillin when she was dying of pneumonia. When he contracted malaria shortly afterwards, however, Gandhi accepted for himself the alien medicine of quinine, and when he had appendicitis he allowed British doctors to operate to save his life.

Perhaps the most serious distortion of history in the *Gandhi* propaganda film is the total suppression of the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose in the events leading to the independence of India. (This subject was examined in detail by Mr. Ranjan Borra in an essay published in the Winter 1982 issue of *The Journal.*) At the time that India attained independence, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee regarded the armed insurrection led by Bose as a far more important factor leading to independence than Gandhi's activities. However, Bose is not even mentioned in the *Gandhi* film. The eminent Indian historian, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, wrote: "There is . . . no basis for the claim that the civil disobedience movement (led by Gandhi) directly led to independence. The campaigns of Gandhi . . . came to an ignoble end about fourteen years before India achieved independence."[5]

There is ample evidence to substantiate the fact that the armed assault on British India by Bose and his Indian National Army (INA) during World War II was the decisive factor that forced the British withdrawal from the Asian sub-continent. The exploits of this army, when they became known, undermined the loyalty of the Indian soldiers, or sepoys, of the British. These men were the mainstay of colonial rule in India. Bose and the INA ignited the spark of a potential military revolt within the country, which the British dreaded above all else. This forced their decision to quit India honorably,while there was still time. As Majumdar wrote: "In particular, the revelations made by the INA trial, and the reaction it produced in India, made it quite plain to the British, already exhausted by the war, that they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys for maintaining their authority in India. This had, probably, the greatest influence upon their final decision to quit India."[6]

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace

The changing alliances between Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia described in *1984* are similar to the changing alliances between the United States, Russia, and China. The state of perpetual war described by Orwell is also reflected in the three hundred wars since 1945, the thirty-seven armed conflicts under way in 1980, and recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Central America, and Grenada. Perpetual civil war also seems to prevail in various multi-racial societies.

"Doublespeak" propaganda terms are used in these conflicts. "Peace-keeping forces" are used to make war, invasions such as in Grenada are described as "landings," planning for aggressive war is described as "defense strategy." The book *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* edited by Harry Elmer Barnes describes the permanent war economy of the United States, the trickery employed by the U.S. government to enter World War I and World War II, and the censorship of dissident historical views by the media,the book trade, libraries, the curricula sections of education departments, and book reviewers. *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* by Lawrence Dennis discusses the need for preparation for perpetual wars to overcome unemployment, boost profits, and use up excess capital. Foreign markets are secured through war and foreign aid. Huge loans are made which cannot be paid back by debtor nations such as Poland and Brazil.

The role of international banks in financing wars and revolutions has been documented in numerous books, few of which are available in bookshops or libraries. Dr. Anthony Sutton documented the link between international finance and the Rus-

sian Revolution in *Wall Street and the Russian Revolution.* The American Red Cross mission to Moscow in 1917 had more financiers than medical doctors. Wall Street banks helped finance the revolution. This has been almost entirely swept under the rug by historians since it cuts across conventional ideas about the political left and right. *Uncovering the Forces of War* by Conrad Grieb deals with the role of international financiers in simultaneously bankrolling both sides in wars.

Organized Incitement to Hatred

The media in all countries are a vehicle for whipping up hatred against Goldstein-like figures. The aim of hate-week incitement is to divert attention from domestic problems, promote national unity, and, where necessary, motivate people to kill other people in wars. Hate-week campaigns in the Soviet Union direct invective against the Chinese and Western "imperialists." In China hatred is whipped up against the Russians, sometimes the Vietnamese, and, until recently, the Americans. Iran and Iraq use their media outlets to control history, including recent history, and to keep their respective captive populations in the psychological state of hatred required to maintain their current war. Other countries at war or on a war footing use similar tactics. Hate propaganda is used in the civil-war conditions which prevail in many multi-racial societies such as Zimbabwe, Chad, Sri Lanka, Zaire, Ethiopia, Burma, Uganda and Cyprus, which are paying the price demanded by the fallacious belief that multi-racial societies are viable.

The most pervasive hate campaigns in the West are still directed against Hitler, who died almost forty years ago. Hitler is treated in the Western mass media as a Goldstein figure with no redeeming features. Hate sessions directed against Hitler and the Nazis are so pervasive that a visitor from Mars might think that World War II was still in progress. More than four hundred feature films have been produced since 1945 with negative stereotyping of Germans, as well as numerous television series and countless books. (By contrast, the Nazis made only two or three anti-Semitic feature films between 1933 and 1945.) Recent films include *Sophie's Choice, Playing for Time, The Boys from Brazil, Marathon Man,* and *The Odessa File.* Recent television series include *Winds of War, Holocaust, Kessler,* and *The Secret War.* Many more films, television series, and books are in the pipeline. The cumulative effect of this media avalanche of negative stereotyping of Germans is to incite ethnic hatred against people of German extraction of whom there are more than twenty million in the United States. Civil-rights, human-rights and church groups which have been

quick to oppose racism and anti-Semitism have done almost nothing to stem this incitement to ethnic hatred.

The 18-hour *Winds of War* television saga is a good example of the docudrama blend of fact, fiction and fantasy ("faction") which is accepted by many viewers as objective history. The *Winds of War* film is an instructive example of gross distortion of history, of incitement to ethnic hatred, and of the use of the electronic media as a vehicle for propaganda. *Winds of War* was written by Herman Wouk, a devout Orthodox Jew. It's an American-Jewish version of the last world war in which the persecution of Jews is a dominant theme and war atrocities comitted by the Allies, such as the terror bombing of cities, are almost completely ignored. A *Washington Post* reviewer wrote "if you miss the *Winds of War* you will be adding 18 hours to your life," while another critic called the series "essentially a cartoon, a child's history of the war with all the stock characters of a Hollywood propaganda movie."

Wouk tries to make the Jewish people the axis around which American and world history revolves. Without exception, he portrays Jews as warm, sensitive, admirable people who are innocent victims of mindless persecution. The Germans are stereotypes of evil who are barely recognizable as real people at all. The German people are portrayed as suffering from a national character disorder to explain why they admired and supported Hitler, who is portrayed by Wouk as a raving comic-book lunatic. If an 18-hour television series were to be shown at peak viewing time with comparably derogatory portrayals of Jews, there would be a massive protest about "anti-Semitism." The argument that films such as *Winds of War* are made because of popular demand is incorrect, since much of the demand is created by massive advertising and promotional campaigns, often as expensive as the films themselves.

The book *Dealing in Hate* by Michael Connors examines anti-German hate campaigns in both world wars. *Falsehood in Wartime* by Arthur Ponsonby deals with the Allied propaganda lies against Germany in World War I. Second World War propaganda lies are still being churned out on an almost daily basis. If the Germans had won the last world war, and had influence in the media, we would doubtless be having a series of hate sessions against England, America and Russia. If there is another world war, the victors will once again write the history books and cowardly court historians, acting as thought police, will ensure that the history of the war is not objective. Finally, to make a fairly trite but important point—if the conditions described in Orwell's *1984* actually existed in the United States and Australia today, we would not be able to publicly attack official security agencies or query establishment history. Western countries are still the most free and, fortunately, freedom of speech is still widely respected.

The Ministry of Truth and World War II

The attempt to portray the Second World War as a conflict between total good and total evil is slowly breaking down. Despite decades of brainwashing by the media, censorship of revisionist historians, and the cowardice of establishment court historians, a more balanced history of the origins and course of the war is slowly emerging. *The Origins of the Second World War* by A.J.P. Taylor establishes that Hitler did not plan the war and that the Allies bore important responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict. *Germany's Economic Preparation for War* by Burton J. Klein establishes that Germany was spending a smaller percentage of its GNP on war preparations than either Britain or France in the late 1930s.

The extent of Allied war crimes is slowly being documented. *Bomber Command* by Max Hastings shows that saturation bombing of cities was initiated by the British and that some 600,000 German civilians were killed in the levelling of German cities. A review of Hastings' book in the London *Spectator* was headlined "Devastating and Exterminating" and described the aerial destruction of German cities and the killing of 600,000 German civilians as "the greatest war crime of the Second World War."[7] Other Allied war crimes such as bombing of Japanese cities, the execution of more than 12,000 Polish officers and other leaders at Katyn and elsewhere by the Soviets, have also been documented, although the Katyn massacre is still not widely known in the West. The forced repatriation of millions of Russians and other Soviet subjects back to the USSR, resulting in many deaths, has also been set out in books such as *The Last Secret*. The Nuremberg trials were illegal and yet another Allied crime. This is discussed in *Failure at Nuremberg, Profiles in Courage* by the late President John F. Kennedy, and *Doenitz at Nuremberg* by H. Keith Thompson.

However, for every book and film about Allied war crimes there are literally thousands of books and films about German and Japanese war crimes, particularly those dealing with the concentration camps. The greatest war crime of the war, the bombing of German cities, is never dealt with in films, apart from very rare exceptions such as *Slaughterhouse Five*.

The central allegation made against the Nazis is that they exterminated six million Jews during the war, mainly by gassing in gas chambers. This claim has been established as false by Professor Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Dr. Charles Weber in *The Holocaust*, by Walter Sanning in *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, by Dr. Wilhelm Staeglich in *The Auschwitz Myth*, by Dr. Robert Faurisson in *The Problem of the*

Gas Chambers, and by Professor Paul Rassinier in *Debunking the Genocide Myth*. Due to thought-police pressure and self-censorship by the media and book trade, these books are not readily available. These books demonstrate that there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II, no mass gassings in gas chambers, that fewer than 500,000 people died in concentration camps and that most Jewish deaths were due to diseases such as typhus. Numerous Jewish writers, including civil libertarians such as J. Cohn-Bendit, C. Karnoouh and J. Assons, accept the revisionist view of the Holocaust. Most academics dealing in modern European history are too cowardly even to investigate the revisionist evidence.

The Holocaust story is repeated *ad nauseam* to drum up emotional support for Israel, and Zionist Jews have accurately described it as "Israel's number one propaganda weapon." Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal describe the constant Holocaust drum-beating as "holocaustomania" and point out that the Holocaust has become a kind of new religion among Jews. Jewish intellectual Noam Chomsky described Dr. Rubenstein's reactions to Professor Faurisson's claims that there were no gas chambers as the reactions of a religious fanatic. The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedlander has said that "the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries' political positions," while Professor H. Littell has said "you can't discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany which outlaws such exercises." Despite cogent evidence that revisionists are censored and persecuted, one so-called intellectual recently stated that it is fashionable to claim that Hitler's gas chambers did not exist.[8] A five-page attack in the Australian magazine *Quadrant* described revisionists such as Professor Butz, Professor Faurisson and myself as "lone wolf malcontents," the "John Hinckley Juniors of the intelligentsia," and possibly more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot.[9] As is customary with such attacks, no right of reply was allowed.

Down the Memory Hole

Chairman Mao, once the Big Brother of China, has almost vanished down the Chinese memory hole. He has been virtually written out of Chinese history. A similar fate has befallen Stalin in official Soviet history. Hitler, on the other hand, has not been written out of history. He is larger than life, appearing on our *1984*-style telescreens on a regular basis as a Goldstein hate figure. He is needed to assist in the portrayal of World War II as a war

between total good (the victors) and total evil (the vanquished). Hitler is also useful for the Hollywood World War II industry which churns out a mind-boggling number of films and TV series about the war. Dr. Alfred Lilienthal has pointed out in *The Zionist Connection* that the three major television networks (NBC, ABC and CBS), the major film companies, book distributors, and influential newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as influential news magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, are owned and controlled by Zionist Jews who use the evil Hitler image and the Holocaust as propaganda weapons for Israel.

Some aspects of popular history are shrouded in secrecy and receive little publicity. Thus, collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists in World War II, revisionist evidence about the treatment of Jews during that war, the role of Subhas Bose in the struggle for Indian independence, massacres by the Soviets at Katyn, Vynnytsia and elsewhere, and the sinking of the passenger ships *Wilhelm Gustloff*, *General Steuben*, and *Goya*, in each case with greater loss of life than the *Titanic*, are seldom mentioned in the controlled media of the West. Collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists is established by Jewish writers in books such as *Perfidy* by Ben Hecht, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* by M. Shonfeld, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah Arendt and *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* by Lenni Brenner. The massacre of Polish leaders by the Soviets in 1940 is documented in *Katyn* by Louis Fitzgibbon, while the massacre of some 10,000 Ukrainians at Vynnytsia is covered in *The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia*. The sinking of three passenger ships in the Baltic in 1945 with more than 18,000 deaths, mainly German women and children, is dealt with in *The Cruelest Night* by Dobson. *Anne Frank's Diary, A Hoax* by Ditlieb Felderer, which proves that Anne Frank did not write the famous "diary," has been given the silent treatment by the media. In case after case, historical truth has been consigned to the memory hole.

There has also been a fairly successful cover-up in relation to the American entry into the Pacific war in 1941. The largest ethnic group in America is of German origin. Resistance from this and other groups had to be overcome to get the United States into the First and Second World Wars. The attack against the *Lusitania* was used as a pretext for entry into World War I. The attack against Pearl Harbor was the excuse for entry into World War II. Both of these attacks involved gross deception of the American public. The Watergate cover-up was nothing compared with the cover-up over Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt incited the attack with an oil embargo, and knew that the attack was coming. It was not a surprise attack. The Pacific war began in deception and cover-up

and ended the same way. The Japanese offered to surrender prior to the bombing of Hiroshima on condition that the office of Japanese Emperor be retained, and after the bombing the war was concluded with that condition accepted. Why then was Hiroshima bombed? Most people's understanding of the Pearl Harbor attack is based on popular portrayals such as the docudrama film *Tora, Tora, Tora,* which presents the attacks as a surprise. *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* by Rear Admiral Theobald, which examines the days immediately preceding the attack, shows that it was not a surprise. It shows instead that Washington authorities had ample foreknowledge of the time and place of the Japanese attack, and that the failure to warn General Short and Admiral Kimmel was due to Roosevelt's order that no warning be sent lest their preparations for defense might deter the Japanese from attacking. Theobald also shows that Pearl Harbor was denied a "Purple" decoding machine lest the commanders there might independently decode Japanese messages and take steps to ward off the attack.

Similar deceptions were used by the U.S. government in the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the bombing of Cambodia, and in military interventions in the Middle East, Central America and Grenada.

Some of Simon Wiesenthal's activities have likewise gone down the memory hole. His wartime collaboration with the Nazis was discussed by the former Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish origin, and others. Wiesenthal's criminal "Nazi hunter" role in persecuting innocent individuals such as Frank Walus and wrecking their lives has been amply documented but has received only minimal media coverage.

Down With Big Brother

Control of the past, Big Brother surveillance, and the use of "doublethink" are much more extensive in Communist and many third world countries than in the United States, western Europe or Australia. People in the West can help combat Big Brother control in Communist and other quasi-totalitarian countries by supporting Amnesty International and by helping human rights groups in those countries. Unfortunately, effective human rights groups can be established only in countries where basic civil rights are already relatively secure. Individuals who attempt to establish such groups in repressive countries are often persecuted and imprisoned.

Although civil liberties are entrenched in the West, there are still some areas of concern. Control of the past, the central issue of Orwell's *1984*, remains pervasive, especially with regard to World

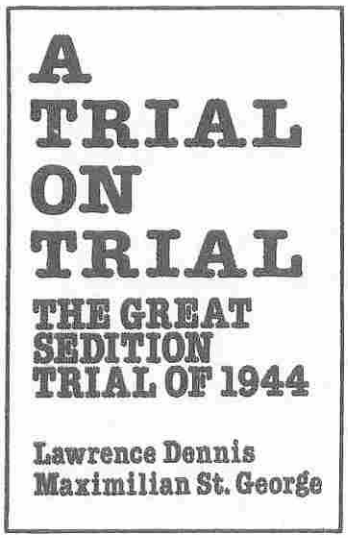
War II history which is, to use Napoleon's phrase, "lies agreed upon by the victors." The lies are repeated to justify the carnage of the war and to explain the Allied policy of unconditional surrender in the war. The six million Holocaust allegation, the hoax of the twentieth century, is used as a propaganda weapon to promote support for Israel. Uncritical support for Israel, particularly by the United States, could contribute to starting World War III.

Challenging the official version of anything may be a civic responsibility and even great fun, but it is still difficult for those who dispute the establishment version of history to have their views heard. The best way to combat Big Brother control of the past is to ask questions and challenge the claims put out by the high priests of sanctioned history repeatedly. People should ask, for example, whose interests are served by the repetition of particular atrocity stories? What real evidence is there for various mass murder allegations? Who controls the media? And so forth.

Citizens should support bona fide civil liberties groups and actively oppose government measures restricting basic freedoms. Freedom of speech is a basic civil liberty and people should fight to retain it. They should defy group pressure, think for themselves and speak out. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Notes

1. See, for example: *New Society*, 12 May 1983; *Commentary*, May 1983; *New Republic*, December 1982; *Commentary*, March 1983; *Harper's* January 1983.
2. *New Society*, 5 October 1978.
3. Orwell, *Notes on Nationalism*.
4. Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*.
5. R.C. Majumdar, *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*.
6. ibid.
7. *The Spectator*, 29 September 1979.
8. *Quadrant*, (Australia), August 1983.
9. *Quadrant*, October 1981. See also: *New Statesman*, November 1979, and *Commentary*, December, 1980.



A TRIAL ON TRIAL

THE GREAT SEDITION TRIAL OF 1944

A provocative analysis of the Second World War's most sensational domestic political trial and exposure of the sinister internationalist forces behind it.

Lawrence Dennis • Maximilian St. George

This book is about the Mass Sedition Trial of 1944, one of the worst fiascos in the annals of American jurisprudence. It is not about the defendants, their views or their activities. It explains the Trial. It tells why and how there was such a Trial; who was behind the Trial; what was behind the Trial; why the Trial lasted so long—breaking all duration records; why the Trial proved such a farce; and, why, at the time the first edition of this book was offered to the public, the courts still had not acted, as they should have done, over a period of eighteen months following the mistrial, either to dismiss or to set this political case for re-trial.

The explanation why this celebrated Trial lasted so long and proved such a farce can be briefly and simply stated as follows: the evidence did not fit the law or the charge; no law could have been found in this country which penalized the utterances, writings and propaganda activities of the accused.

To please political and minority pressure groups the people behind the Trial and the Roosevelt administration, making a bid for their votes and support, wanted a mass propaganda trial a la Moscow against a selected number of persons whose political ideas they wished to suppress. The big idea was, by means of such a trial to identify in the public mind Nazism and the Nazi regime with native American isolationism, with opposition to American entry into the war and with attacks on the internationalist policies which got America into two world wars in twenty-three years. According to the false and absurd identification, any one who was against American entry into the war, anyone who denounced communism and anyone who offended any substantial group of Jews is a Fascist or a Nazi.

The free speech issue made this Trial important. The defendants were not important. The Trial was significant as a threat to freedom and an example of Moscow methods of dealing with a political opposition. The totalitarian technique used in this case was of such a nature that it can only be adequately exposed in a full-length book analyzing the prosecution case. This is really a text-book on how to fight a free speech battle against Moscow methods in American courts.

In offering this book to the public, the authors are trying to vindicate the Constitution, not the defendants. They are championing the cause of freedom, not that of any defendant. They are not concerned with what the defendants believed, wrote or said. The authors do not share or endorse most of the opinions of most of the defendants, but they are prepared to fight and die for their right to hold and express those opinions. Freedom of speech was the only issue in this case.

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The Great Sedition Trial of 1944: A Personal Memoir

DAVID BAXTER

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

I have the honor to discuss an historical event in which I played a personal role, the notorious Sedition Trial of 1944. As a Christian I have long since forgiven those who were responsible for instigating this persecution of American citizens and I have no axes to grind with anyone. Some of what I have to tell is merely personal recollection while some is indisputable fact. Historians must make these distinctions. I write here as a witness to history.

Before discussing the trial itself it is necessary to outline some background. I've always been idealistic and history was my favorite subject in school. Accordingly, in my youth I was greatly impressed by Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. I became an ardent socialist and joined the Socialist Party, which was then America's third largest party. Still, I was also nationalistic and supposed that socialism would be best for our country and its people. World government was not an issue and I'm sure that most of the socialist followers of Eugene V. Debs would have opposed it. We were concerned about America and its economic system, which was then about the most ruthless monopoly capitalism one can imagine.

Consequently, I was also very enamored of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. In the belief that the Roosevelt program fulfilled our hopes (but unaware of his world government philosophy), our California state Socialist leader, Upton Sinclair, joined the

Democratic party and ran for Governor. I was the last remaining registered Socialist in San Bernardino County but finally gave in and, following Sinclair's lead, joined the Democrats. For two years I served as president of the largest Democratic Club in California. While the great depression was at its worst, I worked for several years as a W.P.A. supervisor. I believe that Roosevelt did do some good in emergency legislation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, banking reforms to protect citizens' savings, Social Security and the like.

My interest in political affairs never waned. I wanted to hear both sides of every issue. Accordingly, you might see me at a Communist rally, a Klu Klux Klan conclave, a Townsend old-age speech, a Jewish anti-Nazi gathering or a Silver Shirt meeting. Incidentally, the Silver Shirt leader, William Dudley Pelley, was one of my co-defendants in the Sedition Trial several years later, along with two Los Angeles German-American Bund leaders. Before the trial I had never met Pelley personally nor corresponded with him, and had only been introduced to the German-American Bunders at their open meeting. Yet I was later accused of conspiring with them. Actually, at that time I was simply a New Deal Democrat interested in what was going on in the country politically.

I've always been a little slow about jumping to conclusions, but as Chesterton once said, "The object of opening the mind is to close it again on something solid." Once thoroughly convinced of the rightness of a thing, I have jumped in on what I believe to be right with enthusiasm. It was after war broke out in Europe that I first began having doubts about Roosevelt's honesty. I had already become what is called a "middle of the roader" politically and economically, and I now found myself more and more sympathetic to those who stood for rugged individualism, disliked regimentation, and opposed Roosevelt's cleverly disguised efforts to get the United States involved in a foreign war that was none of our business. Because the President would say one thing to the people and do exactly the opposite, I frankly came to detest the ground he walked on. Moreover, I became convinced that there really was an international conspiracy that was using our nation as a pawn, as had been the case in World War I. Since I had no access to the press at that time, I began publishing a newsletter.

Politics indeed makes strange bedfellows. After Hitler and Stalin concluded a treaty, American Communists enthusiastically endorsed those of us who opposed getting into the European war between Germany and the British-French alliance. The Communists even stomached the Jewish issue that some of us raised and many Jewish Communists, who wanted the United States to join the war against Hitler, left their party. All that changed over-

night, however, when war broke out between Germany and Russia. The Communists then turned against us with a vengeance and eagerly backed F.D.R. and American participation in the war to save the Soviets. Those of us who had been anti-war from the beginning were now even more set against such an adventure. England and France were now practically out of the conflict. Now let the Nazis and Russians slug each other while the United States remained neutral, we felt. When the smoke cleared neither of the big European powers would have much strength left, there probably wouldn't be any Soviet Union, and the United States would emerge unscathed with not a man lost. We could also resolve our own domestic problems without attention being diverted by war. I wrote one artictle after another and sometimes ghost-wrote speeches for visiting speakers of the American First Committee, of which I was a member. Apart from the Democratic and Socialist parties, it was the only political organization I ever joined. I also tried to organize a correspondence circle of anti-war people to be called the Social Republic Society, but it was never amounted to anything. Or so we thought.

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, which even then many of us claimed Roosevelt and Churchill had schemed to bring about (and which is now known fact), America Firsters found themselves in hot water. All of our political supporters in Congress and elsewhere disappeared as if by magic. Even Hamilton Fish, Robert Taft, Burton Wheeler and Claire Hoffman were misled and carried away by the Administration-created hysteria. They did not even suspect Roosevelt's skullduggery in bringing about the Pearl Harbor attack. They all jumped aboard the war bandwagon, except for a very few diehards, of whom I was one. To us, if a thing was wrong in principle before an official declaration of war by the President, it was just as wrong afterwards. Despite our limited numbers and political insignificance, some of us then took it upon ourselves to tackle one of the most improbable jobs imaginable—a Peace Offensive. We believed that although America had made a mistake in getting into the European inferno, we could still negotiate an honorable peace and save millions of lives. I then suddenly found myself thrust into national prominence and my name appeared in several major newspapers. I was actually proposed as a presidential candidate by Edward Price Bell, a retired editor of the Chicago *Daily News.* Although Bell was prominent in the Republican party, he was just as opposed to the GOP's Wendell Willkie as he was to the Democrat Roosevelt. He opposed American subservience to foreign interests as much as I did. His article in the *Saturday Spectator* brought me directly to Roosevelt's attention and triggered my speedy political demise.

I was quickly subpoenaed to appear before a California State Senate anti-subversion committee headed by Senator Jack Tenney, before which I testified and was labeled a "hostile witness." Years later, after he became enlightened, Tenney personally apologized to me. After that subpoena a U.S. marshall served me with a "Presidential Warrant" signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt which ordered me to appear before a grand jury in Washington D.C. I tore up the warrant and told the marshall to tell F.D.R. to go to hell, where he belonged. Roosevelt had no more authority to order me around than any other citizen. Accordingly, a few days later a marshall served me with a proper subpoena to appear and I promptly left for Washington. I had never been in the capital before.

At the same time, Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and a raft of others went after me over the radio. Pearson called me a "fascist" and Winchell constantly demanded, "Why doesn't somebody do something about it?" When I arrived in the capital, the *Washington Post* kept up a page-one running attack against me as a "revolutionist." The other Washington papers were more restrained, although one headlined me as a "Jap apologist," probably because of some things I had written in defense of Japanese-American citizens who had been rounded up and sent to concentration camps without any semblance of legality. Being called a "Jap apologist" didn't make me any more popular with the average American. In those days most Americans were hysterical about anything Japanese after Pearl Harbor, not knowing that their own President was responsible for it. I was practically without friends. Anti-war members of Congress whom I had loyally supported pretended that they had never heard of me. People who had known me for years were afraid to be seen with me. Quite frankly, I felt depressed and disillusioned.

The Washington grand jury session was pretty fiery. A number of people I had heard of but had never met were there from all over the country, including Charles B. Hudson, Gerald B. Winrod (a minister and a spokesman for *Social Justice* and Father Charles Coughlin), Congressman Claire Hoffman of Michigan, and many others. When I got into a row with the federal prosecutor, William Power Maloney, and was cited by the grand jury for contempt, newspapers were full of it and my home town paper, the San Bernadino *Sun-Telegram,* ran a screaming headline: "Baxter Defies Federal Grand Jury."

An interesting feature of the grand jury investigation was when a bailiff entered the witness room and called out several times, "Jefferson Breem." Jefferson Breem was there, all right, but he didn't answer. That was because he was really a reporter for the *Washington Post* named Dillard Stokes. It was Stokes who wrote

the *Post* stories which referred to me as a "revolutionist" and smeared me and other witnesses from pillar to post. "Jefferson Breem" was one of many people who had written to me to ask for copies of my writings. After all, none of my work was secret and my writings were in some libraries. The Hoover Library of Stanford University, for example, had requested and received my literature. Anyway, when the grand jury later indicted about 30 of us who had been witnesses, accusing us of sedition, it was largely on the basis of literature we had sent to Stokes, alias Breem, in Washington. In order to try us in Washington as a group, it was necessary to establish that a crime had been committed in the District of Columbia, thus giving jurisdiction to the federal courts there. So the grand jury, which was obviously controlled by the prosecutor, charged us with the crime of sedition, and then established District of Columbia jurisdiction to try us on the grounds that a District of Columbia resident, "Jefferson Breem," had received the allegedly seditious literature. Thus was the alleged "crime" committed in the capital. The defendants were charged with having conspired in the District of Columbia, despite the fact that I had never been in Washington in my life until ordered there by the grand jury. Even then I was not allowed to have legal counsel.

After the grand jury hearing I returned to California and tried to rebuild my small outdoor advertising business, which the adverse publicity had almost ruined. Even my neighbors were suspicious of me. After the war a railroad union official told me that some union members had talked about tarring and feathering me. They were dissuaded when he told them, "I've known Dave Baxer for years. Let him have a fair trial and if he's guilty, I myself will apply the tar." As it was, two gunmen sneaked up to our house one night and tried to bushwhack me. It was only when I suddenly leaped out on to the front porch with a .38 caliber pistol in my hand that they fled. My wife remembers that incident very well. She jumped under the bed.

This may be hard to believe, but the fact is that although I had come to believe firmly that an international conspiracy of Jewish Sanhedrin-bankers existed and influenced the President and government, I had never heard of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I had never had the slightest animosity against anyone because of race or creed. I had many Jewish personal friends, whom I was convinced had no knowledge of an international Sanhedrin. Or at least they were my friends until I was smeared as "anti-Semitic." I first heard of the Anti-Defamation League when a cousin of my wife's, who worked in the office of a lawyer named Julius Novak in San Bernardino, one day came to our home greatly agitated. I had never had anything against

Novak, but our cousin said that she was in an adjoining room when a delegation she called the "Anti-Defamation League" conferred with Novak and she overheard him say, "We'll get Dave Baxter if it's the last thing we ever do." A few days later my close friend, the San Bernardino postmaster, quietly leaked to me that an Anti-Defamation League group had called on him and asked him to inspect my mail. I then began to suspect who was behind most of my troubles and started researching this organization.

Actually, the Anti-Defamation League was the catalyst behind the entire Sedition Trial. I couldn't prove it then but I can now. A few years ago I demanded, through the Freedom of Information Act, that the FBI turn over to me its investigation records of my activities during the early 1940s leading up to the Sedition Trial. I learned that the investigation had extended over several years and covered hundreds of pages, which I now have. The FBI blocked out the names of those who had given information about me, much of it as false as anything could be. I was never given a chance to face these people and make them prove their accusations. Yet everything they said went into the investigation records. Oddly enough, in a great many cases, it wasn't the FBI that conducted the investigation but the Anti-Defamation League, with the FBI merely receiving the reports of ADL investigators. One can hardly tell from the reports whether a given person was an FBI or an ADL agent. But at the time all this was so hush-hush that I didn't even suspect the web-spinning going on around me. I hadn't considered myself that important. Anyone who wishes to inspect my FBI file is welcome to do so. It's a masterpiece of intrigue, cunning and deception.

One day my wife, Bernice, our two youngsters and I were on a fishing trip in Newport Beach. A U.S. marshall came out from behind our rented cottage, arrested me and, without any explanation, whisked me off to the Los Angeles County jail. Three days later, FBI agents whom I knew well visited me there. They said that there had been a statewide manhunt for me and that I had been indicted along with 29 others before U.S. Commissioner David B. Head during which the charge against me was read. The federal prosecutor was Leo Silverstein, a character who looked like a recycled transsexual. Two American Civil Liberties Union attorneys, A.L. Wirin and Fred Okrand, visited me in jail. For some reason the ACLU had decided to defend me. Its paper announced that while it was unusual for the ACLU to defend "rightists," my case was a clear violation of civil liberties. So I did not obtain a private lawyer. My bail was originally so high that I couldn't make it, but even when it was reduced I still refused to post bond on general principles and spent several months in jail while legal proceedings dragged on. The Justice Department had

so far failed to extradite me to Washington. I finally agreed to go voluntarily, believing that since I wasn't guilty of anything, a jury would certainly acquit me. Talk about naivete! A lawyer warned me: "If they get you back there they'll railroad you for sure." But I still had abiding belief in impartial American justice and bull-headedly insisted in going to Washington for trial. Federal Judge Ralph Jenny finally ordered me released on my own recognizance and I returned home to San Bernardino to prepare for the trip to Washington. I was almost broke by then, so I asked the government to pay my railroad fare. Accordingly, I was told to report to the U.S. marshall in Los Angeles for transportation, which I did. Two marshalls reserved a drawing room on the Sante Fe railroad and accompanied me. We became quite friendly and called each other by our first names, but as we boarded the train one of the marshalls shame-facedly showed me a telegram he had received from Washington which ordered: "Bring the prisoner back in chains and handcuffs." The marshall said,"Forget it, Dave. You're no dangerous criminal." "Right," I replied, "but you aren't going to lose your job for refusing to obey orders. You're going to do as ordered." So that was that. I never missed an opportunity, when passing through a crowd in a railroad station, to call out, "I'm a guest of your President, who is also your enemy, as you will someday find out."

An interesting sidelight at this time was when my dearly beloved wife tried to find employment to support herself and the children after I was jailed. She was from an old San Bernardino County pioneer family and well thought of. She had worked in the court house before marrying me. She was hired at the San Bernardino Air Depot and was praised for her efficiency. But shortly thereafter, Col. Adrian Cote, who commanded the depot, learned who she was and dismissed her on the ground that she was the wife of David Baxter. He then told her in a letter, which I still have, that if she wished to divorce me she could have her job back. When she refused he wrote another letter telling her that she was discharged with prejudice so that she could not get another job. All that happened before I had been tried or been convicted of anything. (As it turned out, I never was convicted of anything.) Yet even the school kids taunted our youngsters, "You're daddy's in jail."

After my arrival in Washington I was not permitted freedom on my own word, as I had been in Los Angeles, so that I couldn't find a job to support my wife and kids. I was hustled off to the District jail without counsel or the opportunity to obtain a lawyer. The jail admission officer was a big, sloppy-appearing guy who, after asking my name, said to me, "What's your address? Where do you want your body shipped?" Sedition defendants in the jail

nicknamed him "Anus" (Annas was a high priest at Jesus' trial.) He was an ornery rascal who liked to gloatingly mention the execution chamber in the facility.

My cell was cold. My hearing was already bad and it became worse, with earaches and no medical attention. The food was terrible, consisting mostly of plain bread and heavily-peppered soup, with one cup of weak coffee. When fellow defendent Leon de Aryan once looked out the barred window of the window of the dining room and remarked, "It looks like rain," I glanced at my cup and replied, "Yeah, but it smells a little like coffee." We were finally allowed a dish of chocolate pudding as a special diet. The U.S. Marshall's bullpen in the District Court House basement was even worse. Defendants George Viereck, Ralph Townsend, Bill Lyman, Edward James Smythe and I were thrown into one large room with a galaxy of criminals and suspects of all kinds. The single toilet without a lid was covered with excrement and cigarette butts, and a leaky old faucet was our only drinking supply. Our "dinner" consisted of one piece of bread, one slice of baloney, and coffee. Talk about punishment before trial—and in our own American capital!

Bill Lyman was in England when the indictment was issued. Instead of fleeing, he immediately booked passage home and surrendered himself to the authorities. But rather than allowing him freedom to earn a living while awaiting trial, he was handcuffed and put in leg irons in the District jail. After several months in jail, Howard S. Le Roy learned that I was there and called on me. At first he was frankly skeptical of my description of jail conditions, but after investigating on his own he said that he had never known anything like it. Political prisoners were usually treated more leniently and, if wealthy, were generally put under mere "house arrest." Thanks to an old friend, Henry G. Reinsch of Tacoma, Washington, who had never disowned me despite extreme pressure, I was released on $1,000 bond. I still didn't like the bond idea, but it was better than spending a lifetime in jail without trial.

Now this may seem absurd, but to this day I am thankful that my enemies were successful in their persecution. The reason is that while in the Washington jail I became a convert to Jesus Christ. You can bet your bottom dollar that wasn't in the enemy's plans. Yet, thank God, they were actually instrumental in bringing about that very thing. For years I had been a confirmed agnostic, although my wife was a Christian. It was while reading a Gideon Bible left in my cell that this miraculous event occurred. As I was making notes on alleged biblical contradictions, expecting to someday write an article about this, I found myself more and more drawn to Christ. What He said and His apostles wrote made more sense than I had ever imagined. He had the same enemies I had,

but He certainly suffered infinitely more than I ever did. What's more, I had to admit that I was a sinner and needed spiritual salvation, which Jesus alone of all the prophets that ever lived provided. The shedding of His blood now really meant something to me. Whatever happened to my mortal body, His enemies and mine would never be able to conquer my soul. I was so happy about my salvation that it wasn't long before we even had a sizable Bible class among the prisoners during the occasional recreation periods. A Washington missionary named Harvey Prentice, in charge of the Gospel Mission, was a big help during this period, bless his soul. So I returned to California a Christian, much to the joy of Bernice and the kids, who ran out to meet me on the porch late one night upon my arrival home.

In the meantime the federal courts in Washington threw out the indictment and I wound up on Los Angeles's Skid Row trying in vain to find a job. Every prospective employer was warned against hiring me. Nevertheless, back in San Bernardino I started painting signs for people, was welcomed by city officials who by now had their own ideas about the cause of my trouble, spoke in churches, and soon ran a thriving sign shop. The enemy arranged for another indictment in 1943 but the courts scuttled it. Despite that, a third indictment was issued after Roosevelt appointed a New York lawyer named O. John Rogge to the Justice Department as an assistant attorney general specially in charge of the Sedition Case. Roosevelt also appointed a former Iowa Congressman, Edward C. Eicher, as Chief Justice of the federal court in Washington with direct orders to try the Sedition Case. Rogge was a protege of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who had planted his "hot dog boys" in sensitive government positions.

Columnist Drew Pearson testified that Attorney General Francis Biddle had advised against the whole Mass Sedition venture from the beginning, but Roosevelt ordered him to proceed anyway, adding, "I will appoint the judge." With Eicher now in place as Chief Justice of the U.S. District Court, the trial began on 17 April 1944 with Eicher presiding. There were some 30 defendants, including some of those originally indicted. I well remember Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Joseph Dilling, Joseph McWilliams, Lawrence Dennis, Robert Edmondson, Col. Eugene Sanctuary, Robert Noble, Ellis Jones, German-American Bunders Herman Schwinn and Hans Diebel, Garland Alderman, Prescott Dennett, Lois de Lafayette Washburn, August Klapprott, Elmer J. Garner, George Deathage, William Dudley Pelley, James True, and others. My name had appeared on all three indictments, so it seemed that someone had a special interest in wanting to railroad me into prison. Even though several of the German-American Bundists had already been convicted in other trials, they were added to our group in an

effort to collectively discredit all the defendants as alien and "un-American." Actually, those who ar anged our trial did not consider us the ultimate targets. Our trial was meant to intimidate others and set an important precedent. After disposing of us the people behind the venture planned to put the leading opponents of Roosevelt's war policy on trial, including American First Committee spokesman Charles A. Lindbergh, General Robert Wood of Sears Roebuck, several senators and congressmen, and possibly Father Charles E. Coughlin and Henry Ford. Our trial was intended to be a "warm up" for trials of really prominent Americans who dared oppose Roosevelt's policies.

As one paper wrote, "all hell broke loose" when the trial opened. It was covered in every American daily newspaper. Along with the Communist sheets, Marshall Field's leftist New York paper *PM* bombarded us on page one day after day. The liberal press was somewhat more restrained, including the *Washington Post,* which had helped to instigate the case. For some reason, though, their former star reporter, Dillard Stokes, alias "Jefferson Breem," was missing from the courtroom. Most conservative papers assumed a wait-and-see attitude, although the *Chicago Tribune* and the New York *Daily News* forthrightly opposed the Justice Department and gave decent, unbiased coverage of the defendants. A United Press report published in those papers in 1943 even went so far as to state:

> Under pressure from Jewish organizations, to judge from articles appearing in publications put out by Jews for Jews, the new indictment even more than the first was drawn to include criticisms of Jews as "sedition." It appeared that a main purpose of the whole procedure, along with outlawing unfavorable comments on the administration, was to set a legal precedent of judicial interpretations and severe penalties which would serve to exempt Jews in America from all public mention except praise, in contrast to the traditional American viewpoint which holds that all who take part in public affairs must be ready to accept full free public discussion, either pro or con.

I took Bernice and our children with me on this trip to Washington. After prosecutor Rogge tried unsuccessfully to revoke my bond, we found what passed for an apartment in a tenement. Because I was short of funds, I had a court-appointed lawyer, Hobart Little, who was a fraternity brother of Chief Justice Eicher. During the trial Hobart roomed with Joseph McWilliams' lawyer, Maximilian St. George, and after he learned the whole story about the case he took a really active interest in defending me. That happened in the case of other defendants as well, much to the consternation of the judge and prosecutor, who had obviously intended to make short work of the Sedition Trial. Far

from letting their clients be sacrificed, court-appointed lawyers like James McLaughlin stormed into court and in just a few days had the proceedings in an uproar. Mr. Little and I, however, remained calm and were careful to show respect for an American court—even this one. The trial got almost completely out of hand and Eicher spent a lot of time banging his gavel. After at least a dozen attorneys were found in contempt, they came into court wearing buttons bearing the insignia "E.C.C." When the judge asked about the buttons, McLaughlin informed him that the initials stood for "Eicher Contempt Club." The attorneys eventually named Eicher a defendant in a suit they brought during the trial accusing him of holding office illegally. He was not a resident of the District of Columbia, as the law required. The judge once had to recess the trial to defend himself against our lawyers in another court. As I recall, his case had still not been settled when he died.

The trial caused such a scandal that even the staid District Bar Association found itself in an uproar about it. Lawyers not connected with the Sedition Trial demanded an investigation and called the case a "judicial farce." The Bar Association finally appointed a committee of observers to sit in on the trial. A good example of the trial's legal high jinks occurred when our little boy, David, came down sick and his doctor reported that he suspected diptheria. After spending several hours with David, I returned to the courtroom. Attorney McLaughlin then immediately jumped up and said to the judge, "I move that the defendant Baxter be seated next to Prosecutor Rogge." That made Rogge furious, but the unrelenting pressure on him from some 30 lawyers kept him angry most of the time anyway. He was losing his case and knew it. Even the jury sometimes laughed when a defense lawyer needled the prosecutor. Rogge spent much of his time reading from literature written by the defendants. I could see from the jurors' faces that they were more bored than impressed, waiting for him to present some direct evidence that the accused were actually guilty of the charges he accused them of. He never did that. Indeed, the thing became so loose that before long I was even on friendly terms with the male jurors I often met in the restroom, although we didn't discuss the trial. After about a month, when Bernice and I entered the cafeteria, some of the jurors who were having lunch called out, "Hey Dave, you and your wife bring your trays over and eat with us." If they had voted, I doubt that a single one of them would have convicted me.

Washington's a broiler in the summer. Our tenement was as hot as a furnace, and Bernice and the kids really suffered. I found a job working evenings after court sessions doing art work and lettering, but it only lasted a couple of months. As usual, someone called on the boss and told him who I was. We received a little in-

come from my California business but the fellow I had left in charge was a poor manager and even that source finally trickled out. The defense lawyers were unpaid but they managed to collect a few small donations now and then which they shared with us. Mrs. Dilling, Dr. Winrod and a few other co-defendants were more affluent and they collected about $100 each from their followers for our family and others. I've never forgotten those two $100 gifts.

Fellow defendant Elmer J. "Pop" Garner was 82 years old and very deaf. He had headlined me in his little Kansas paper, *Publicity*. Garner could barely afford a cheap boarding room and during the noon recess all he could afford for lunch was a doughnut and cup of coffee. I wasn't in much better shape, but "Pop" and I stuck it out and even joked during our talks. "Pop" Garner was an old Kansas pioneer and one of the finest men I've ever known. He couldn't hear a word of his trial and died after a few months. Prosecutor Rogge had his body sent back to his widow stark naked in a plain pine box. That really enraged not only the defendants but even several newspapers and many people with common decency. After his death, whenever Rogge mentioned old "Pop" before the jury he referred to him as "the conspirator Garner." He never prefixed the term "conspirator" to any of us still living, for we were there with our lawyers. At least "Pop" Garner no longer had to endure the trial or the Washington heat.

One torrid day I came home from court and said to Bernice and our youngsters, "Let's get out of here for a while, board a streetcar and go somewhere, anywhere, to cool off." So we boarded the first trolley that came along, marked "Cabin John." We didn't know where Cabin John was, or care, just so we could sit in the breeze as the car rolled along. The streetcar eventually left the city itself and followed the track through beautiful, cool woods along the Potomac River. Bernice had an inspiration and suggested that we get off at a stop and walk along the river bank. We hiked along, admiring the woods and river, when we came to an abandoned cruiser high up on the bank. It was a really nice little ship and equipped for living. Even the engine was still in place. We played Robinson Crusoe on it for a while and then continued our walk, coming to a fishing camp a short distance away. We talked with the owner of the camp, a man named Crampton. When we mentioned the boat, he said that it had belonged to a Swedish mariner who had moored it to the river bank, left and never returned. A flood had left it high and dry, and it was now in receivership. Thinking that we might manage a small down payment on the boat or rent it for the duration of the trial, we had Crampton call up the receiver, who lived across the river. A short time later he came over in a boat.

As it turned out, the receiver was anxious to settle the estate and, after some haggling, told us we could have the cruiser for less than $200 cash. That was most of the money we had left, but to this day I've never heard of such a bargain. We bought it on the spot. Crampton and some other men brought over some equipment and got the boat into the water. It was in perfect condition and so, a few days later, we left the tenement apartment and moved aboard our new home. During the remaining months of the trial we lived in cool comfort on the river under a big shade tree that hung out over the water. The kids went back and forth on a gangplank and played in the woods. The fishing was excellent. I rode to court each morning on the street car. Of course, the other defendants and their lawyers were always welcome aboard when they could visit us and we were glad to be able to show them a good time. It was at least a diversion from the bad time the Justice Department was giving us in court.

After the first few months of excitement, the trial settled down to a humdrum presentation of the government's case, which consisted of a perpetual reading aloud of defendant literature by Rogge. The jurors were getting fidgety and finally asked how long the case would last. They had had to neglect their business and family affairs and were obviously bored stiff. On one occasion, while Rogge was heatedly denouncing a defendant as an "anti-Semite," one of them glanced at me and yawned. Later, in the wash room, he didn't say a word to me, but shook his head, gave me a slight smile, and managed a little wink. I don't think that Justice Eicher ever realized what he was getting into when Roosevelt decided to use him. Eicher was a professing Christian—an Iowa Mennonite—and the case was obviously getting on his nerves. He became more testy as the trial droned on and finally asked Rogge when he was going to start presenting solid evidence. The fact was that Rogge didn't have any, as was later proved. The case might have gone on for years.

Then suddenly one day Judge Eicher asked me to stand up and announced that he was severing me from the case on the ground that I wasn't able to hear my own trial. That was true. My hearing had declined from the time of my imprisonment so that I was now 85 percent deaf. I wore a hearing aid but the devices were far from their present-day level of near-perfection. I couldn't hear a single witness on the stand some fifty feet away and my lawyer had to translate for me. What caused Eicher to make his decision is conjectural. Several times attorney Little had moved for a severance for me because I was deaf, but Eicher had overruled him. And yet, after several months, he ordered me to see a specialist for a hearing examination. After receiving the specialist's report he severed me without even a motion from Mr. Little to do so. Later that day

Judge Eicher asked to see me privately in his chamber. When we met he smiled, held out his hand, and said: "Go back to California and forget about it, Dave." Frankly, I was glad to be through with the whole ordeal, as were Bernice and Mr. Little, who were there with me. So I replied, "Well, your honor, forgetting it won't be easy, but as a Christian I'm glad to forgive." We immediately sold the cruiser and were preparing to take a train to California when Eicher again asked to talk to me. This time he said that if we wanted to buy an automobile and drive back he would help, and actually handed me a whole roll of gasoline coupons. (During the war every motorist had to have those coupons to buy gasoline, which was severely rationed.) All the same, we returned by train, but back in California we had a car and those coupons certainly came in handy.

Judge Eicher then began severing other defendants, even though Rogge was far from resting his case. The *Washington Post* (16 July 1944) commented editorially:

> The severance of three cases from Washington's mass sedition trial is the best news that has come out of this dreary affair in Justice Eicher's court. It clearly suggests belated recognition of the mistake that was made in bringing 30 individuals of widely varying temperaments and backgrounds to trial at the same time and place for a series of alleged offenses classified as sedition.
>
> One defendant recently died. Another is too ill to attend court sessions regularly. A third found it difficult to follow the proceedings because of limited hearing. A fourth proved to be so obstreperous as seriously to interfere with the progress of the trial. In other words, the exigencies of human life are such as to defeat most any attempt to dispose of complicated criminal charges en masse with both fairness and dispatch. It is a pity that the Department of Justice did not foresee this elementary objection to mass trials before embarking on such an adventure.
>
> The fact that four cases have been eliminated from the trial is overshadowed, therefore, by the larger fact that 26 cases remain before the court. We hope that better progress can be made but no end to even the presentation of evidence by the prosecution is in sight after 13 weeks. How can the jurymen be expected to remember testimony given many weeks before their verdict will be rendered? How can they, in these circumstances, distinguish the varying degrees of guilt, if any, among the 26 remaining defendants? We fear that whatever may be the outcome of this trial it will stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come.

Such were the remarkable words of the very paper whose own reporter had plotted with the original prosecutor to entrap the defendants and bring them to trial in Washington. "Oh what tangled webs we weave, when first we practice to deceive." As if to add insult to injury, the *Post* issued another blistering editorial

some two weeks later headed "Courtroom Farce." (28 July 1944). The lengthy editorial included these remarks:

> We think the time has come to recognize the unlikelihood of securing any fair approximation of justice from this unhappy experiment. The end of the Government's testimony is nowhere in sight. Prosecutors have 4000 exhibits to offer in evidence and only about one-eighth of them are in the record at present. At its present rate of progress, therefore, the trial may run on for several years after the war is over. Meanwhile it is gravely undermining confidence in American justice.

The editorial concluded:

> After all, this is a trial of men and women accused of sedition, not a contest in befuddlement. In our opinion the trial can continue its present course only at the cost of serious impairment of our judicial system and the reputation of those responsible for this travesty.

Apparently the *Post* didn't consider itself among those responsible for what it now called "this travesty." In any case, the paper indignantly withdrew its reporter, James Chinn, from the courtroom. *Post* Managing editor A.F. Jones told a *PM* reporter: "I'm not going to keep a man tied up on a lot of baloney." Seeing the way the trial was going, it's clear that the *Washington Post* was now anxious to obscure its own role in bringing it about. The paper was now calling the case a "black mark against American justice for many years to come" and a "travesty."

What remained of the ill-fated Sedition Trial ended abruptly when Justice Eicher died suddenly of a heart attack on 30 November 1944. That trial could have killed any judge with a Christian conscience and any semblance of fairness. I felt genuinely sorry about Justice Eicher's death. Although Rogge was still reluctant to end the business, he now had a new judge to contend with. Justice Bolitha Laws, a veteran federal judge in the District of Columbia, took over and promptly made it clear that he was a no-nonsense jurist who wanted definite and purposeful action. After Roosevelt died suddenly and mysteriously in April 1945, Rogge admitted to Justice Laws that he had a weak case, but with the European part of the war over, he asked for time to visit Germany to interview Nazi officials and get evidence. After all, he had accused the defendants of having conspired with Adolf Hitler and German officials in the indictment. Laws granted Rogge's request for a continuance in order to question former high Nazis in Germany. Several months later Rogge again appeared before his honor. He was empty-handed. None of the Nazi officials had ever heard of me. They knew that one defendant, George Sylvester Viereck, had been a registered American agent for the German

government *before* the war, when such representation was (and is) quite legal. Most foreign governments retain respected Americans who are registered to represent their interests.

Justice Laws repeatedly asked Rogge if he wanted a new trial. When the prosecutor kept hesitating and even expressed doubt about the government's chances of winning, Laws blasted the Justice Department for its "lack of diligence," (in his exact words), and dismissed Rogge for good. The new President, Harry Truman, then fired Rogge. It later turned out that Rogge had been a good friend of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, was involved in numerous Communist front groups, and had visited Russia where he spoke in the Kremlin and laid a wreath at the grave of American Communist Party co-founder John Reed in Red Square. His wreath was inscribed, "In loving memory from grateful Americans." Along with movie actor Charlie Chaplin, Rogge was an American delegate to a world Communist "peace conference" in Paris and was a lawyer for many Communists in trouble with the law. He was the attorney for David Greenglass, the atomic spy who saved his own life by turning state's evidence against his sister and brother-in-law, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs went to the electric chair for turning over U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets. John Rogge, Roosevelt's choice to prosecute the Sedition Trial and Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter's right-hand man, was thus eventually exposed for what he was. No wonder he was so fanatical in his hatred against the Sedition Trial defendants, all of whom were anti-Communists. After Justice Eicher severed me from the case, Rogge met me in the deserted courtroom and called me a "fascist" to my face. "Fascist" is a favorite term Communists apply to their enemies.

With Rogge out, an assistant attorney general who had helped him named T. Lamar Caudle took over. Probably prompted by the same people who had been behind Rogge, Caudle tried to continue the persecution and appealed Justice Laws' decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals. But that court turned him down, using strong language. Caudle was himself later convicted of "fixing" the income tax of a St. Louis merchant named Wolfe and he received five years in the federal penitentiary.

It should be noted that during those five years and three indictments, the public was continuously propagandized against us in radio broadcasts and best-selling books. I was attacked in at least five books. One was the famous best seller *Under Cover* by John Roy Carlson. It turned out that "Carlson" was one Avedis Derounian, a writer for the Communist *Daily Worker* newspaper. Radio propagandist Walter Winchell had collaborated with him on the book and then advertised it over nationwide radio. Derounian, alias "Carlson," was later found guilty of libel in United States

District Court in Chicago. Trial judge Barnes commented in sentencing that Derounian would "write anything for a dollar" and that, after hearing the evidence, he would not "believe anything Derounian said under oath." A similar best-selling book of the time, warmly promoted by Winchell, Drew Pearson and then U.S. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, was *Sabotage: The Secret War Against America*. The authors were Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, later reported by congressional investigators to be members of the Communist Party. But at the time the public was given to understand that all these propagandists were just good American patriots exposing America's enemies.

Well, five years of this was enough for me. I went to work, paid off all our bills, worked for the Santa Ana (California) *Register* for a couple of years, wrote a syndicated column, studied theology, and thought I was through with politics. But not the real conspirators who had all but ruined our family life and seen their court case blown to smithereens. A couple of years after the trial, one of the Congressional spokesmen, Adolph Sabath of Illinois, began beating the drum to start a whole new Sedition proceeding and started pressuring the Justice Department.

So now I'll tell you why I'm not made of the stuff of heroes. I gave up. My nerves were half shot from the five-year persecution. At that time a "friend" visited to tell me that if I wished to make my peace with Mr. Sabath and avoid further molestation, I could write Sabath a letter apologizing for my alleged "anti-Semitism" and assuring him that because I had become a Christian and was confining myself to religious affairs, I would not return to political activity. At first I strongly rejected this "offer." Furthermore, I really wasn't anti-Jewish as such, and felt that that point should be clarified. (Of course, the Anti-Defamation League was quite another matter.)

I was concerned about my children and my wife, Bernice, who begged me to ask Sabath's mercy. She pleaded, "Dave, we can't stand any more. We don't want to die. For my sake and our children's, please don't let us go through this again."

I caved in and wrote the required letter to the Congressman. I received a cordial reply. The pressure on the Justice Department stopped as suddenly as it had begun. The incident demonstrated the terrifying power to manipulate the United States government wielded by hidden forces. I was now out of the game, broken and disillusioned. I had given my all to be a solid American but there's a limit to every person's endurance. I recovered enough to become a well-known newspaper editor, theologian and writer for many Christian magazines. And I sometimes became involved in issues requiring that I take a firm stand one way or another. Thank God, I still have some of that spirit at 76 years of age. I have no regrets

about the Sedition Trial. Bernice and I celebrated our golden wedding anniversary in 1983. Our children are now middle-aged and successful. We are still firmly dedicated to our Christian faith and American nationalism, with charity toward all and malice toward none.

For the sake of the historical record I would still like to see the U.S. Congress acknowledge that an injustice was done against 30 American citizens in the Sedition Case. Not one of us ever received a penny in compensation for our mistreatment and expenses, much less any official acknowledgement that our government made a serious mistake. Only Congressional committees have made such admissions. Yes, I would like to see our Congress vindicate itself before history by at least partially erasing what the *Washington Post* called "a black mark against American justice" and the federal courts declared "a travesty upon justice." I believe that God will one day bring this about.

Reflections on German and American Foreign Policy, 1933–1945

KARL OTTO BRAUN

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

During my career as a German diplomat, I had three superiors. The first was Alfred Rosenberg, head of the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party. The next was Foreign Minister Freiherr Konstatin von Neurath, an "old school" conservative. The last was Joachim von Ribbentrop. After the war these men were condemned as criminals by the Allied Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Rosenberg and von Ribbentrop were sentenced to "death by hanging." I doubt if many Americans have had a similarly tragic experience with their superiors. The words "death by hanging" still resound in my ears and dreams since the moment I first heard them pronounced over the radio in late 1946 while I myself was an "automatic arrest" inmate in the Dachau concentration camp, then under U.S. Military Government control.

All former German officials with university degrees were subject to "automatic arrest" according to Morgenthau's punitive directive JCS 1067, regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. The infamous Morgenthau Plan was originally drawn up by Harry Dexter White, the right-hand man of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. White had been born in eastern Poland with the name Weis. White died in suspicious circumstances in 1948 after it was discovered by the U.S.A. government that he'd been a Soviet agent. Morgenthau's program was thus indirectly drafted by Stalin!

Directive JCS 1067, which determined the main lines of U.S. policy in occupied Germany until July 1947, was itself a violation of the Hague Convention of 1907 which prohibited the automatic arrest of people in occupied territories. When I made this point to my American interrogators, I received the reply that the Germans had already violated the Hague Convention much earlier. Those American officers did not know that the Nuremberg International Tribunal had expressly acknowledged the Hague Convention (and especially section 6b) as the basis of its judgement against the German defendants!

All the same, a bitter fate always has a purifying effect in life. A man who, like Hamlet, suffers "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" is forced to weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, above all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding likewise has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth. History is reborn memory. Men with a rich memory have a superior power. Consequently, nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and their power. It's true that the history of the United States is still comparatively young, but two hundred years of memory are enough upon which to build a respect for traditional values. Recalling the values of your forefathers, of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Cleveland and others, you have no reason to despair or be timid. The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies; whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God—contrary to the erroneous denials of Marxism.[1]

The great German historian Leopold von Ranke worked on the principle of trying to describe historical events truthfully, just as they actually happened. I try to work in keeping with Ranke's principle. All the same, I must admit that I see everything through the eyes of my own experience. Please consider and accept this limitation.

On that fateful 30th day of January 1933—ironically, Roosevelt's 51st birthday—I was reading Dutch books about Mount Kloet, a volcano in Java which mixed its lava with the water of a lake, thus creating the terrible "lahars" which ultimately created fertile fields. Late that evening I left the Geographical Institute of the University of Berlin and stepped out into the crowded streets. Newspaper boys were shouting that President von Hindenburg had appointed Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor and that the SA stormtroopers would soon be holding a torchlight parade.

I was myself a simple stormtrooper but my uniform was at home, too far away. Therefore I decided to climb onto a linden tree at the corner of the Unter den Linden boulevard and the Wilhelmstrasse in central Berlin. All the trees were packed with sightseers and the Unter den Linden was crowded with thousands of people. The torchlight procession soon passed through the Brandenburg Gate, nowadays walled off by concrete by Communist tyranny, thus ridiculing its purpose as a gate. When the stormtroopers passed by the darkened French Embassy, I wondered what the French Ambassador, Francois-Poncet, might be feeling about all this. I can remember being vividly struck by this thought.

The torchlight parade turned right into the Wilhelmstrasse, just under my tree, and headed towards the Reich Chancellery. There were 16 men marching shoulder to shoulder in each row. Hitler saluted the men from a window in the Chancellery building. As the first rows passed by him, the words "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles" echoed through the crowd like an organ. It seemed to be the outcry of a nation humiliated by foreign oppression, occupation, inflation and a scandalous treaty imbued with revenge and contempt. The torchlight procession seemed to me like the glowing, fertilizing lava of Mount Kloet! Then, 22 years of age, I wrote an enthusiastic report about all this to my parents. They kept it until it was burned with their belongings by British bombs in 1944.

The moral outcry of a humiliated nation proved that Hitler's real historical birthplace was Versailles. The punitive economic clauses of that imposed treaty had been drafted by Bernard Baruch, who later wrote: "President Wilson called me to Paris to serve as one of his advisers on the economic section of the treaty."[2] Already in 1920 Baruch published *The Making of the Reparation and the Economic Sections of the Treaty*, in which he wrote: "I was intimately concerned with the creation of these (economic) sections . . . Serbia, Rumania and Poland had been victims of merciless German agression."[3] Baruch intentionally ignored the murder at Sarajevo and the fact that Austria and Germany had re-established Poland in November 1916 as a constitutional monarchy. Baruch supported the popular slogan of the time, "Let Germany pay first," and admitted in his 1920 book that "Many of the (Versailles conference) participants preferred war with all its horrors to any peace short of that which they demanded." He conceded, "It is true that the (Versailles) treaty is a severe treaty."[4] It is thus not an exaggeration to say that Baruch significantly helped Hitler to power. History is full of such irony. Already in 1919 we can recognize the genesis of a terrible confrontation, for it was precisely the economic demands of the Ver-

sailles conference that brought about the punitive Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, Black Friday, seven million German unemployed and six million German Communist votes. When he came to power, Hitler was thus confronted with a country in economic ruin. Again ironically, Franklin Roosevelt faced a very similar economic catastrophe as he assumed the presidency of one of the victor nations that same year. It is worth noting that after six years of Roosevelt's New Deal, there were still ten million unemployed Americans, whereas Hitler's "New Deal" was able to absorb all seven million unemployed Germans without war. Roosevelt achieved the same result only after the world had burst into flames. This contrast is one of the main sources of Roosevelt's personal jealousy and enmity towards his great adversary.

According to a May 1939 report to Berlin by the German diplomatic representative in Washington, Hans Thomsen, Roosevelt told the Senate Military Committee that "It would be a good thing if Hitler and Mussolini were murdered."[5] To make this situation more clear, consider these passages from Hitler's important address of 28 April 1939 (four months before the outbreak of war in Europe) which were directed personally to President Roosevelt:

> I have taken no step that violated foreign rights, but I have restored the rights which had been violated twenty years ago (at Versailles). Within the territory of the present Greater German Reich there is no part which did not belong to it since ancient times or was not subject to its sovereignty. Long before the American continent was discovered by the White Man, this Reich existed.
>
> President Roosevelt believes that the leaders of the great nations have it in their power to protect the nations from the imminent disaster of war. If this is correct, it is criminal rashness if the leaders of nations who wield great power do not curb their newspapers which agitate continuously for war. It would be an honorable achievement if President Roosevelt were to redeem the lofty promises of President Wilson. That would certainly be a practical contribution to the moral consolidation of the world. . . .
>
> President Roosevelt, Hitler continued, I understand that the vastness of your realm and the immeasurable wealth of your resources make you feel yourself responsible for the destiny of the entire world. My scope, however, is much more modest. I have assumed power in a country with 140 inhabitants per square kilometer, not 15. Billions of German savings in gold and foreign exchange were taken from us. We lost all our colonies. In 1933 we had seven million unemployed, as well as several million part-time employed, and we faced ruin. In the past six and half years I have devoted all of my effort to mobilizing the energy of my people, who have been outlawed and abandoned by the rest of the world. Furthermore I have tried to remove, page by page, that (Versailles) treaty which, with its 448 articles, represents the crudest violation ever imposed on nations and individuals.

Anyone can easily check Hitler's statements about U.S. press agitation for war by looking through leading American newspapers, particularly from the years 1938 to 1941. I was told by Germans returning from visits to the U.S. in 1934 that anti-German defamation was already running high even then. The Zionists were clever enough to establish an "Anti-Defamation League" in 1913 when Wilson became President and their influence first reached the highest level of government. They feared growing opposition. In contrast, Americans of German descent neglected to take any similar defensive measures. As a result, the image of the brutal, militant German still haunts American movies to this day. The question arises whether a pro-German American group should not establish its own "Anti-Defamation League" for the sake of a free America.

My Turn to East Asia

In 1932 I was in England preparing my dissertation on Shakespeare in the library of the British Museum. I continued my studies of English, history, and geography at the University of Berlin in 1933. At the same time I attended lectures at the Hochschule fuer Politik (Higher School for Political Studies) located across from the Imperial Palace, which was torn down in 1945 by German Bolsheviks. I was occupied with lectures on international law by Professor Friedrich Berber and geopolitics by Professor Albrecht Haushofer, and I participated in a seminar on the British press by Professor Karl Boemer. I wrote a study on background forces behind leading English papers for the seminar. Professor Boemer took it with him when he accompanied Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels on his September 1933 trip to the League of Nations in Geneva. Boemer later told me that my survey helped the Minister in his appearance before the League.

The following year I received a postcard from Professor Boemer asking me to visit him at his office in the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party (Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP). To my great astonishment, Boemer immediately introduced me to Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, a pre-eminent party official and chief editor of the main party paper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter,* since 1922. As a second surprise Rosenberg asked me if I would join his office in the recently planned East Asia Section. I replied that although I knew Britain well, I knew East Asia only geographically. Rosenberg, a Baltic German from Riga, replied: "You are young enough to be trained." We arrived at a compromise. I offered to work afternoons in his office while learning Japanese mornings at the Institute of Oriental Languages, which had been founded by Bismarck. Rosenberg accepted my proposal.

I found him a noble, broad-minded and modest superior. His modesty was crowned with some shyness or restraint. He had the gift of being able to present his views convincingly. In practical conflicts, however, he was much too soft. I considered him more of a philosopher than a politician.

When I began my first job in August 1934 I found an unfinished manuscript on my desk entitled "The Amau Declaration and Its Echo in the World Press." I was asked to add up-to-date observations and comment on it. Amau was the speaker of the Japanese Foreign Office, the Gaimusho. He had announced that Japan considered China as a sphere of her special interest. Already in 1917 Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Ambassador in Washington, had concluded an agreement with the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, which conceded Japan's special relationship with neighboring China. But this liberal trend changed under Secretary of State Henry Stimson to the inflexible "Open Door Policy" of unrestricted international trade with China. This policy was first introduced by Britain during the last century as part of her imperialistic design based on her world naval supremacy. British political imports have often proved disadvantageous to the United States! There have sometimes been great contrasts between the declared independence of the United States and an American foreign policy still directed by the former "mother country."

In 1931 Japan proclaimed the formation of the state of Manchukuo from the three ancient Manchurian provinces of northern China. Japan was condemned by the League of Nations for this act and Japan consequently left the League. Then Secretary of State Stimson was an advocate of war against Japan but this view was rejected by President Herbert Hoover, a statesman of German-Swiss descent. In this respect Hoover was a forerunner of General Douglas MacArthur, who warned his country against participation in any land war on the Asian continent. The Amau study returned to my desk a few weeks later with the words stamped on it in green "Hat dem Fuehrer vorgelegen," showing that Hitler had read it. I felt then that my decision to learn the awesomely difficult Japanese language had not been a false step.

The following year we had a minor success. The first public short wave radio telephone service between Germany and Japan was inaugurated by Alfred Rosenberg. It was followed by a setback. Rosenberg's internal political adversary, Joachim von Ribbentrop (then Ambassador in London and a close advisor to Hitler) moved ahead of Rosenberg by concluding the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan on 25 November 1936. The Pact was a response to the new policies of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) of 25 July to 21 August 1935 in Moscow. Ribbentrop declared: "The Comintern intends to estab-

lish a new Soviet Republic in Spain in order to extend its subversive activity in Europe. Who will be the next victim?" Don't those words sound very up to date? Between 1936 and 1939 a fierce civil war raged in Spain until Stalin was defeated by Francisco Franco with military aid from Germany and Italy. Stalin's defeat was costly for Spain because he had arranged for the entire Spanish gold reserve to be shipped to Moscow!

The signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact had several remarkable features:

1. Ribbentrop had initiated it without the knowledge of the Wilhelmstrasse (the German Foreign Office). In this respect Hitler's tactics resembled those of Roosevelt, who always relied on intimate advisers such as Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau and the pro-Soviet Harry Hopkins rather than on his State Department. The negotiations for the Pact were carried out by Herr von Raumer of the "Bureau Ribbentrop" and the Japanese Military. The Japanese liaison officer was the Military Attache Hiroshi Oshima. The Japanese Foreign Office and the Wilhelmstrasse were informed only at the last minute. This was the internal feature, so to speak.

2. Hitler's move was a blow to Great Britain which then aided the Red government in Spain on the grounds that it was the only legal government. Britain was legally correct but politically wrong. If Britain had fought Communism in Spain with Franco, Soviet influence would not reign today in Aden, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Japan had been England's ally in the First World War. The Pact had now blocked this road to partnership.

3. There were other reasons for Hitler's approach to Japan. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote: "When I was 16 years old I followed the Russian-Japanese war (of 1905) with great interest. For national reasons I immediately sided with Japan. A Russian defeat automatically meant a defeat of the Slavs within the Austrian Empire."[6] Even more revealing, Hitler observed that Great Britain was reluctant to weaken her alliance with Japan after the war because that would have weakened her position vis a vis the United States or, in Hitler's words, "the gigantic colossus of the United States with her enormous resources." Nevertheless, the entire Jewish press had definitely turned against Japan. Hitler argued: "How is it possible that the Jewish Anglo-Saxon papers which had faithfully backed England's war against Imperial Germany suddenly committed a breach of faith and pursued different aims? The annihilation of Germany was not so much a British interest as a Jewish one, just as the annihilation of Japan does not serve the interests of Britain, but rather the long range goals of the advocates of Jewish world domination. England exerts every effort to maintain her predominant position in this world, whereas

the Jews are organizing to attack her."[7] A few lines later Hitler wrote: "A stable national monarchy like Japan is a thorn in Israel's eye. Japan will suffer the fate of Imperial Germany." In short, the 1936 German pact with Japan was less anti-British than it was anti-Jewish. Do not forget that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was written sixty years ago—sixty years in a rapidly changing century. I suggest that you draw your own conclusions from this fact and consider that since the Second World War America has become the heir of the outworn British Empire. Could America not face the same fate? Are you really convinced that your country is run only by your President and an *independent* Congress? Hitler certainly cannot be considered a statesman like Bismarck, who was far superior. Like Napoleon, Hitler ultimately failed as a statesman and military leader. But Hitler was a prophet—a political prophet with a logical outlook.

4. Hitler's policy towards Japan resembled his approach to the Poland of Marshal Josef Pilsudski when he concluded a ten-year Non-Agression Pact with Poland on 26 January 1934. A new phase in German-Polish relations was opened. Hitler sought an effective German-Polish bloc against the Soviet Union in Europe and a similar alliance with Japan against the USSR in Asia. Hitler considered the detachment of Pilsudski's Poland from the Anglo-French alliance as a personal triumph over the German Foreign Office which still stubbornly clung to Gustav Stresemann's anti-Polish and pro-Soviet policy. I can assure you that if Pilsudski had not died in 1935, Britain would never have succeeded in trapping Poland into the unilateral anti-German alliance which forced Hitler to cancel the German-Polish pact on 28 April 1939. Polish-French Freemasonry played an important role in this.[8] This was the beginning of Poland's demise—a twilight which, thanks to Roosevelt and Churchill, has lasted until today.

In 1937 my Japanese study course was coming to an end. From the outset I had told Rosenberg that I intended to enter the Foreign Office by passing all the required examinations. When the time arrived, Rosenberg begged me to stay on with his party office, promising me a higher career in the Foreign Office later on. But I insisted on my idealistic intention to start right at the bottom in order to avoid any criticism of party favoritism. I now know that I was mistaken because I fell into the net of a hidden anti-Hitler conspiracy. In your State Department at least three different gangs of pro-Soviet agents flourished, culminating in Alger Hiss.[9] Similarly, Staatssekretaer (Under Secretary) Ernst von Weizsaecker headed the secret opposition within the German Foreign Office. Under the tutelage of Harry Hopkins, atomic material and designs were shipped from the U.S. to the Soviet Union during the war. Colonel Curtis B. Dall considered Hopkins a creature of Ber-

nard Baruch.[10] On the other hand, Under Secretary von Weizsaecker, aided by Wilhelm Canaris, frustrated Hitler's effort for a joint German-Spanish action against Gibraltar in 1940 by telling Franco that Germany would ultimately lose the war. If Franco had decided to join with Germany, an American landing in North Africa would have been prevented. These two examples prove that the faithful officials in both Berlin and Washington might well complain of "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes." (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene I)

I was fortunate to be assigned to the East Asia Section of the Foreign Office's Political Department. It was headed by Herr von Schmieden who did not belong to any gang. Thanks to his recommendation I was allowed to accompany the professional diplomatic courier to Tokyo at Christmas-time 1937. The courier spoke Russian and I could assist him with Japanese. The journey via Siberia took two weeks, then the quickest route. It was a unique experience which made me realize that German propaganda about Soviet Russia did not exaggerate. On the contrary, what I observed was worse than I had expected. When we deposited our diplomatic luggage at the German Embassy in Moscow, we saw a revolver on the desk of an official who told us that an attempt had been made to break into the code room the previous night. The intruders did not know that it was guarded round the clock and they had to flee. While escaping over the garden wall, one of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) men lost his revolver, which would now serve as evidence for an official protest. Another surprise came when the Military Attache, General Koestring, confessed that he did not specifically know whether or not the second track of the trans-Siberian rail line had been completed. We later found that, except for five bridges, it had been. On the longest bridge, which spanned the Yenisei River, men worked even at three o'clock in the morning in a temperature of minus 35 degrees Celsius. We passed by numerous freight trains loaded with prisoners—Soviet prisoners in peace time. Stalin was then waging an internal war against the supposed conspiracy of the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Michael Tukhachevsky. The German General Consul in Novosibirsk told us that thousands were arrested every morning, between three and five o'clock, who had never even heard of his name. Terror reigned at its height. The front page of *Pravda* was packed with names of high ranking "traitors" who had been liquidated. Many brownish icicles dripped from drains in the rail cars, indicating that the poor prisoners had been locked up for weeks. With a sigh of relief we passed beneath a wooden, red-flagged border gate with the slogan "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" We were then kindly received by Manchurian-Japanese border guards. We enjoyed the clean Manchurian train and

celebrated the last night of 1937 with a hospitable Sino-Japanese dining car crew. It was my good fate indeed to go to East Asia for the first time *after* experiencing something of the Soviet nightmare. Arriving at Manchuli I had the feeling of being welcomed again by an ancient civilization after a period of complete lawlessness. My conviction that Germany must work together with Japan as a factor for stabilization was reinforced.

There is no denying the fact that the Marxist revolution of Lenin and Stalin was the belated child of the French Revolution of 1789. The cry for unrestricted liberty in Paris had similarly ended in Robespierre's terrorism. However, it was superseded by a new European order under Napoleon. The Soviets, in contrast, enforced their rule by perpetuating institutionalized terror. Despite the stigma of terroristic rule, the Soviets were remarkably successful at exporting their ideology, not so much through sheer power but more because of the whitewashing policy of the ultraliberal western press. The distorting journalists of the *New York Times* and other leading papers bear an enormous historical guilt. It is remarkable that U.S. Ambassador William Bullitt's reports from Moscow to Franklin Roosevelt which compared Stalin with Tsar Ivan the Terrible had been sent as secret dispatches while the controlled German press openly reported on the Soviet terror. Communism cannot exist without terror, just as the teachings of Karl Marx cannot prosper without cultivating hatred and envy.

In 1938 I was assigned to the cultural section of the German Embassy in Tokyo. This time I traveled to Asia by ship from Genoa to Yokohama by way of Ceylon, Singapore and Hong Kong. This journey was not a nightmare, but a sunny tropical dream. Unfortunately, the old-style but patriotic ambassador, Herbert von Dirksen, was no longer in Tokyo. The Military Attache, General Eugen Ott, was chosen as his successor. In my view, this was one of Hitler's far-reaching mistakes. Ott had been the adjutant of General Kurt Schleicher for at least a decade. Schleicher had been involved in a conspiracy against Hitler and was executed without trial in the SA revolt of June 1934. It was only natural that Ott remained an adversary, regardless of whatever assurances he may have given to Hitler to obtain the appointment as ambassador to Tokyo. From the very beginning Ott considered me a National Socialist supervisor, particularly since my career had begun with Alfred Rosenberg. I can assure you that this was not the case, but Ott's bad conscience nourished this suspicion. After 18 months I was transferred to the German Consulate in Kobe-Osaka. I did not regret the move because my new superior, Consul General August Balser, was a loyal official and an expert in Chinese affairs who spoke Chinese and Russian. I vividly remember when he invited

me to our first breakfast together on 4 September 1939. Two declarations of war—by Britain and France—lay on our table. Have you ever had morning coffee with two war declarations?

The Ott problem was a very delicate one. As an old line military conservative he constantly had to hide his anti-Hitler leanings. But his negative attitude fatefully meshed with that of the infamous Richard Sorge, which came from the opposite ideological side. Officially Sorge was a correspondent for the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but he was actually an agent of the Chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal B.M. Shaposhnikov. Sorge portrayed himself as an upright democrat who opposed the Japanese monarchy, which he considered "antiquated." He always had a ready supply of good Goering and Goebbels jokes. I often saw him drunk at Lohmeyer's, a German restaurant, something quite unusual for a secret agent. His Bohemian behavior completely disarmed our suspicions. Despite his hard drinking, he was on a very familiar basis with our Ambassador and furnished him with valuable details on Japanese domestic policy. This friendship made him a permanent guest of our three military attaches. I am still proud that I never invited him to my house. It remained a "Sans Souchi" house, "Ohne Sorge" in German, or "without worry" in English!

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, we in the cultural section succeeded in concluding a bilateral cultural agreement with Japan on 25 November 1938. We chose that date because it was the second anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact, an achievement, as already mentioned, of von Ribbentrop, who had become our Foreign Minister the year before. Our efforts were decisively helped by Hitler's spectacular success in Munich in solving the Bohemian Sudetenland problem. The new agreement with Japan was designed to gradually weaken the still formidable pro-British and pro-American sentiments in the Japanese Foreign Office, and even more so, in the Navy. Meanwhile, the so-called "China Incident" of 1937 had grown into a major war. It brought about greater economic difficulties and sacrifices. Many urns, wooden boxes wrapped in silk containing the ashes of fallen soldiers, were delivered to the mourning relatives. I often saw them at railway stations bowing reverently to the flag and the accompanying officers. Not a tear fell. It was a moving sight!

Prince Fumimaro Konoe resigned as Prime Minister on 4 January 1939 because he could not fulfill his promise to end the war in China. His successor was Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, but Konoe's Anglophile Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita, remained in office. We Germans did not have much confidence in him. Many years after the war I read that Arita had sent a note to President Roosevelt in May 1939 pleading for "a closer cooperation between

Japan and America." Arita was, so to speak, a forerunner of President Reagan! At the time this offer was concealed from the American people, but it leaked out in 1943. Hiranuma felt that with American help Japanese moderates might prevent a world war, with its dangerous consequences for Japan. However, Roosevelt demanded that Japan must first withdraw entirely from China, and he added more fuel to the fire by giving six months notice that the United States was terminating the Commercial Treaty of 1911 with Japan. In contrast to Roosevelt's cold shoulder, the Axis offered an alliance at that time. Japan was on the brink of joining the Axis. Percy L. Greaves Jr. deals with this in greater detail in his excellent essay, "Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?"[11]

And then something unexpected happened: The British "blank check" guarantee to Poland in March 1939 suddenly forced Hitler to seek a way to break out of the threatening encirclement of Germany on the East and West. Dark clouds arose on all sides. A cunning Stalin offered temporary relief in return for half of Poland, the Baltic states and Bessarabia. British and French delegations were negotiating in Moscow at the same time under rather humiliating circumstances. For example, they had to take notes on their knees because Molotov denied them tables! Two years later, when Hitler attacked Stalin, the Allies voluntarily humiliated themselves by giving the Kremlin everything it wanted without any conditions. Unbelievable! Was this due to a lack of intelligence or a lack of character? And by whom: Roosevelt, Harriman, or the "Brain Trust"?

But to return to 1939. Only after desperate resistance by Poland did the British and French concede—too late—to Molotov that the Red Army could march through Poland against Germany. Hitler was the highest bidder in the "Fourth Partition" of Poland. He thus signed a Ten Year Non-Aggression Pact with Japan's traditional enemy, Soviet Russia. When the news of the agreement reached our embassy in Tokyo, it was as if a bomb had exploded. Secrecy had been a top priority. Ambassador Ott was informed only at the last minute, thereby deeply offending the Japanese. Our Japanese friends, who supported close collaboration with Germany, were especially upset. Serious border clashes with the Red Army had been going on since May at the Mongolian frontier. General Grigorii Zhukov, who would later conquer Berlin, was victorious against the Japanese because of a superiority in tanks and heavy artillery.

It is easy to imagine the opportunities that Washington could have had if it had not cancelled the U.S.-Japanese Commercial Treaty during that critical August of 1939—a month crammed with fateful events! But as a result the Hiranuma cabinet fell only

three days later. Under the two succeeding cabinets Japan followed an independent course between the Great Powers. On 15 September 1939 she signed an armistice with Moscow. Japan's bad experience with the USSR had a long-range deterring effect.

Alfred Rosenberg wrote these significant sentences in his diary on 25 August 1939:

> I have the feeling that this Pact with Moscow will one day turn out to be a tragedy for National Socialism. It was not a step of free decision, but was rather an action taken in an emergency. The National Socialist Revolution had to beg for help from the head of another revolution which it has been our ideal to fight for the last twenty years. How can we speak in the future of the rescue and renaissance of Europe when we had to plead for help from the destroyer of Europe?

Hamilton Fish was perfectly correct when he observed that Hitler wanted to move East, but Roosevelt and the British war party forced him to turn against the West.[12] So it happened that while Hitler carried out his 18-day victory over Poland, he had already lost half of the country to his one-time and future enemy! American author Benjamin Colby gave his analysis of Roosevelt's foreign policy the ironic title *'Twas a Famous Victory*.[13] We should also ask: Was Hitler's victory over Poland so famous? Stalin reaped his harvest without any noteworthy loss, and deported the resisting Poles along with many thousands of "Holocaust" Jews into the vast interior of his empire. "Vae Victis!" Remember Katyn! We honor the memory of twelve Polish Generals, 58 Colonels, 72 Lieutenant Colonels and 9, 217 officers.[14]

It took more than a year to repair our damaged relations with Japan. Hitler's amazing and convincing victories over Norway, Holland, Belgium and France helped our ongoing efforts. Ribbentrop was intelligent enough to send an envoy to Tokyo whom he trusted and respected, Ambassador Heinrich Stahmer, to assist Ott. Within 18 days Stahmer successfully worked out the Tripartite Pact. It was officially signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940. The negotiations were conducted under Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka of Prince Konoe's second cabinet. The Pact had two main goals: (1) We hoped that it would help to deter Roosevelt's provocative policy, but it turned out that we were in error about this. (2) The door was left open for a fourth partner. Our Foreign Office hoped that Soviet Russia might ultimately also join with us.

At my urging I was called back to Berlin at the end of 1940. The only route left open was through Siberia. At Otpor the Soviets had established a strict quarantine zone on the pretext of a single case of pestilence in a dentist's practice in Hsinking, the capital of Manchuria, more than one thousand kilometers from the border. We were interned for eight days in badly heated third-class sleep-

ing cars and had to turn over all our clothing and belongings to the Soviets for disinfection. Disinfection is a marvelous excuse for people to humiliate others. An NKVD agent interned together with us distributed anti-German books in violation of the existing agreements on propaganda. I realized right there that the hope by the Wilhelmstrasse of winning the USSR as a fourth partner for the Tripartite Pact was an idle dream. In Berlin I reported to Foreign Office Assistant Secretary (Unterstaatssekretaer) Ernst Woermann, a loyal official. He told me: "We have decided to transfer you to the East Asia Section of the Political Department, but, frankly speaking, the important political decisions are taken outside of the Foreign Office in the Fuehrer's and Ribbentrop's headquarters." I suppose that if I had been an American diplomat returning to Washington, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles might well have explained to me that the important U.S. political decisions were made exclusively by Roosevelt and his "Brain Trust" of Frankfurter, Morgenthau, Baruch, and so forth, but not by the State Department. The fate of a diplomat in a distorted democracy such as Roosevelt's is not unlike the fate of a diplomat in a dictatorship.

The next major event was the visit of Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka to Berlin, Rome and Moscow. I accompanied Matsuoka in Hitler's special train from Berlin to the Italian border. We had dinner together. Matsuoka was deeply impressed by his conversation with Hitler and spoke enthusiastically of "the Fuehrer." Hitler had urged Matsuoka to attack Singapore while strictly avoiding any steps against the United States. Matsuoka was unable to give any military assurances, but he hinted that Japan would be ready for action in May.[15] The Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, Hiroshi Oshima, traveled with Matsuoka on his return journey to Malkinia, the new German-Soviet border crossing. Confidentially I learned from Oshima that Hitler had not mentioned the strained relations with Stalin to Matsuoka, but he (Oshima) had warned his superior not to sign a neutrality agreement with the USSR, as Molotov had been urging. Through the train window Oshima pointed out the long German trains at Posen transporting weapons. But Matsuoka had his instructions and Hitler, whom he had informed about the forthcoming agreement, avoided contradicting him. And so the Soviet-Japanese neutrality agreement was signed. The Soviets promised 100,000 tons of crude oil from North Sakhalin as an added inducement. Matsuoka had been Americanized from his youth and was a talkative character. Hitler was also understandably fearful of revealing his secret plan to attack the USSR. And yet, long after the war I learned, to my great embarrassment, that Hitler had revealed—four weeks before Matsuoka's visit—to Prince Paul of

Yugoslavia that he would attack the Soviet Union in early summer.[16] Paul was Anglophile and had a Russian mother. The American Ambassador in Belgrade, Arthur Bliss Lane, immediately reported the news of Hitler's plan to Washington. Washington informed Moscow at once! This contrast proves that the German-Japanese Pact was in reality not a functioning alliance. Poisonous *sacro egoismo* prevailed on both sides. In this respect Roosevelt treated his allies much better. Morgenthau was very generous to Britain with American taxpayers' money because he was always afraid that Britain might be seduced by German peace proposals or that Stalin might change sides again.

Even today most Germans are convinced that Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 was a serious blunder. I do not share that view. In his memoirs, *Malaya Zemlya*, Leonid Brezhnev openly admitted Soviet intentions to attack a weakened Germany.[17] But apart from that, the best proof of Soviet intentions is the fact that the attacking German armies encountered an enormous concentration of Soviet forces being mobilized against the West. That's the reason for the enormous numbers of Soviet prisoners taken in the summer of 1941.[18] It is ironic that Hitler's armies crossed the Soviet border exactly 129 years after Napoleon began his campaign against Russia. The overthrow of the pro-German government in Belgrade, which was well organized by Roosevelt and Donovan with Stalin's help, delayed Hitler's original timetable against the USSR for five weeks. This was perhaps Roosevelt's greatest triumph during the war. He saved Stalin!

Hitler failed in Russia primarily because he waged war only militarily and not politically. In Norway, Holland, Belgium and France he had carefully observed the golden rule of Alexander the Great in Asia and Egypt—magnaminity towards the vanquished. However, against the Bolsheviks Hitler was blind with a rage that resembled Roosevelt's hatred of him. It was Hitler's error to occupy the Soviet Embassy in Berlin instead of having it put under the protection of a neutral power. It was Hitler's error not to have formed national Russian and Ukrainian governments. It was Hitler's error not to have abolished collectivized agriculture and given land to the peasants. If he had done these things, a fire of popular insurrection would have swept away Stalin's tyranny. Russian armies shoulder to shoulder with the German forces would have smashed Bolshevism forever.

In 1983 I discovered a lengthy report by Felix Frankfurter in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Roosevelt sent Frankfurter to the USSR in 1941. He visited the retreating Soviet front near Rostov in October 1941 and, along with Allied military specialists, speculated that Hitler's armies might reach the Ural

mountains, leaving only Vladivostok as the last American supply line to the Reds. Therefore he considered Japan a "stumbling block" between California and Siberia. Frankfurter argued for an American war of aggression against Japan. He wrote: "In Japan we have a 'dagger in the back' type of enemy waiting and anxious only for the place and moment when it can sink that dagger to the best advantage. In this show-down war, reasons multiply for annihilating this kind of enemy."[19] Annihilating a whole nation is genocide. Remember Hitler's prophesies regarding Japan and about whom her annihilation would serve best. If the standards applied to the defeated Axis leaders at Nuremberg and Tokyo had been applied to Frankfurter, I doubt if he would have escaped death by hanging.

Another "bomb" exploded when a top secret telegram from Ambassador Ott landed on my desk in October 1941. It reported that Richard Sorge had been arrested for espionage on behalf of the Soviet government. Further Japanese investigation in the following days revealed that Sorge had been the editor of a Communist paper published near Cologne in 1924, that he had participated in Comintern congresses, and that he had collaborated with *Asahi* newspaper correspondent Hotsumi Ozaki, who was close to Prince Konoe. Sorge's mother was a Russian. His great-uncle, Friedrich Albert Sorge, had been General Secretary of the Marxist First International and a friend of Karl Marx. And we had to learn all of this from the Japanese! I felt ashamed. The dreaded Gestapo, the German FBI, suddenly bustled with activity. They finally found a dusty file in the records of the old Prussian democratic police which they had acquired in 1933, but never read. The file label read "Richard Sorge." The agent was so bold that he didn't even change his name. To make matters worse, Sorge had transmitted two fateful messages to Vladivostok shortly before his arrest. The first reported a Japanese cabinet decision to refrain from any attack against the Soviet Union. As a result of that information, 200,000 fresh Siberian troops were quickly transferred westwards to the German advance front. On 5 December 1941 the Tenth Motorized Infantry Division leading a pincer movement around Moscow under General Heinz Guderian was forced to retreat for the first time.[20] Hitler's "blitz" came to an end. This was the consequence of Sorge's treason and the five summer weeks lost in Yugoslavia. Sorge's second message informed Stalin that Pearl Harbor might be attacked within the next 60 days if war should break out between Japan and the U.S. The Soviets thanked Sorge, replying that "they had informed Roosevelt, Marshall, Admiral Stark, et al."[21] In this way Stalin returned his thanks for the priceless "Prince Paul message" of spring. "For Brutus is an honorable man. So are they all, all honorable men." (*Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene II)

A few weeks later Under Secretary von Weizsaecker reached me by telephone while I was away visiting in Nuremberg. He asked me about relations between Ott and Sorge. I replied: "They were extremely intimate. Unfortunately, the Japanese knew this. Therefore the Ambassador should be recalled immediately." Von Weizsaecker replied: "He should stay on there." Along with the Japanese, I was very disturbed. A few months later they tactfully demanded his recall. After the war I learned the context. I was taught that because Weizsaecker was an honorable man who resisted a dictator, his oath of allegiance did not count. At the end of the war America discovered that the Sorge connection was only half of the story. Major General C.A. Willoughby, who served under MacArthur, found out that the head of Soviet espionage was based in Shanghai from where the eager American Marxist, Agnes Smedley, organized her footholds in high-level positions in Washington.[22] The Sorge-Smedley ring was thus a threat to the United States as well as to Germany.

It is significant that Matsuoka's negotiations in Europe were not coordinated with the Japanese negotiations being conducted in Washington at the same time. There was considerable disagreement about policy in Tokyo. Although Prince Konoe was fully aware of Hiranuma's failure, he thought that the Tripartite Pact had strengthened his position and would allow him to take a chance on the United States. He even sacrificed the pro-German Matsuoka in July in favor of retiring Vice Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, who was opposed to any attack against the United States. The Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Nomura, met forty times with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and nine times with President Roosevelt. But Roosevelt's attitude was so uncompromising that it was he who saved the Tripartite Pact. To be quite clear, I must confess that it was not German diplomatic skill, but rather Roosevelt who alone forced the reluctant Japanese to stick to the alliance with Germany. At virtually the last minute Tokyo asked if we would join them in case of war with America. On 5 December 1941 Hitler gave the Japanese this assurance and, following the Pearl Harbor attack, he complied with it, even though Germany was not legally bound to do so because it was the Japanese who had struck first. On 11 December 1941, long after Roosevelt had issued shooting orders against German warships, Germany declared war against the United States.[23] Hitler delivered an epochal speech on that occasion. After reading it one has to admit that Hitler, citing documents found in Prague and Warsaw, indicted Roosevelt in such a way that he may be called a pioneer of historical revisionism. I personally witnessed this speech and will never forget the experience. "The American President has labeled our three nations as 'have nots'," Hitler declared. "That is correct!

But the 'have nots' also wish to live and they will keep from being robbed of even their modest share by the 'haves'."[24]

There is no need to dwell here on the background to the Pearl Harbor attack. This subject is dealt with in detail in Admiral Theobald's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, and Hamilton Fish's latest book *Tragic Deception*. It's worth recalling Thomas Dewey's remark of 26 September 1944 to General George Marshall's messenger, Col. Carter W. Clarke. In reply to Clarke's plea to suppress the whole issue during the election campaign, Dewey said: "From what I know of Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt, instead of being re-elected, ought to be impeached."[25] This is also not the place to discuss the Pacific War. The history of that conflict has to be re-written. In his top secret letter to then Republican presidential nominee Dewey, George Marshall credited the U.S. victories at Midway and in the Coral Sea to the intelligence ability to eavesdrop on Japanese High Command communications. It took nearly forty years for these documents to be declassified. Many years of painstaking research will be needed to properly evaluate this library of some 700,000 pages![26] They will open new horizons.

The question arises: If there was so much suspicion and selfish distrust between Germany and Japan, when was the alliance productive? Here are two cases: One fruitful result was Hitler's presentation of two German submarines together with all patent papers and technical information to the Japanese Navy. This proved to be of great help in rebuilding Japanese industry after the war. But there is another and more important achievement of the German-Japanese alliance. This was the contribution to the Indian National Liberation movement headed by Subhas Chandra Bose. (I delivered a lecture on this remarkable man and his place in history at American University in Washington, D.C. in late 1983.) Bose was President of the All-India Congress and a major figure in the struggle for Indian independence. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe he was imprisoned by the British in Calcutta, but he escaped and made his way to Germany via Kabul and Moscow. After a period of speaking to his country over the short wave radio station "Azid Hind" ("Free India") from Germany, Bose wanted to go to East Asia to organize an Indian National Army. The Foreign Office appreciated his goal and we arranged a submarine voyage in coordination with the Japanese Navy. The remarkable journey was successful and Bose was well received in Tokyo by Prime Minister Hideki Tojo. Bose raised an Indian army in Singapore and Malaya which fought with Japanese forces against the British at the India-Burma border area. Years after the war the British Prime Minister Clement Atlee confessed to the Indian Chief Justice in Calcutta that it was Bose's Indian National Army

which had shattered the loyalty of the British colonial troops. The British could no longer rely on them and were forced to quit India forever.[27] Bose perished in an air accident in Taiwan at the end of the war and did not live to see Indian independence. But his struggle survived his death! History is a human affair. It is therefore not barren Marxist materialism but the human spirit that is decisive. Bose, a remarkable orator, had appealed to patriotic spirit. The German-Japanese alliance could not prevent the military defeat of their own countries, but their support for Bose and his movement contributed substantially to the fall of the mighty British empire.

Retrospect and Conclusion

> In politics nothing happens by accident. If something happens, you can be sure that it was planned that way.
> —Franklin D. Roosevelt[28]

The Second World War turned the world into a slaughterhouse. Altogether some 55 million died and two atomic bombs were dropped in order to force some 90 million Japanese and 75 million Germans to submit to the "unconditional surrender" proclaimed by Roosevelt at Casablanca in January 1943.[29]

William C. Bullitt, who was later Roosevelt's first Ambassador to Moscow, broke with President Wilson in 1919. He considered the Versailles Peace Treaty a disaster which would ultimately bring on another war. Ironically, twenty years later, Bullitt, by order of Roosevelt, did everything possible to incite the Poles to war. He had become an eager supporter of war against Germany! This policy ended in catastrophe for his own country because Roosevelt gave away all his cards to Stalin without demanding anything in return. Stalin received considerable Lend-Lease aid amounting to more than $11 billion.[30] Roosevelt delivered twice as many tanks to Stalin as Hitler employed at the outset of his invasion. In May 1943 even atomic materials (black uranium oxide and uranium nitrate) and secret technical information were loaded on to Soviet planes in Canada. The orders for this astonishing transfer came from the White House![31] In the final analysis, Yalta and Potsdam meant catastrophe for Germany and Japan, as well as tragedy for the United States, Korea, China and the rest of the Western world. Only two powers emerged triumphant from the conflagration, one old and one new: the Soviet Union and the Zionists.

The First World War was concluded with the Versailles Treaty which, as unjust and fragile as it was, was still a signed treaty. In contrast, there has not been any European peace treaty to conclude the Second World War. Europe's central power, Germany, was beheaded and, as a result, her two primary wartime enemies,

the U.S. and the USSR, still confront each other on the territory of divided Germany under the conditions of a precarious armistice. Western access to divided Berlin remains literally "in the air." After forty years, this is the longest standing armistice in world history. American sons and grandsons have inherited from their fathers the need to keep watch across Soviet mines at the fortified border through Central Europe. They must also guard the last German prisoner, Rudolf Hess, who spends his 90th birthday in Spandau. The high cost of vengeance, it seems, will never end. As the English poet Alexander Pope put it: "Now Europe's balanced, neither side prevails. For nothing's left in either of the scales." The nervous military build-up on both sides of the Iron Curtain (a term first popularized by Dr. Goebbels) entails the deadly risk that one of the opposing superpowers may act out of fear that the military balance has been broken. The British "balance of power" was destroyed and has been replaced by a "balance of terror."

Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo have long since disappeared, but the injustices they opposed and the problems they sought to overcome, which caused their emergence, remain unresolved to this day. Nearly one quarter of Weimar Germany was placed under Polish Communist administration. Twelve million Germans were driven from their homes, of whom more than two million were slain in an orgy of hatred.[32] Genghis Khan seemed to come to life. For this reason the explosive charge of unresolved problems has become more dangerous than ever. New, explosively dangerous borderlines were created: Korea and Vietnam were divided by Stalin, India was torn asunder, Germany was cut up, Austria was again amputated from her, Poland was doomed, three Baltic states were sentenced to death, Japan was mutilated. . . . The Middle East has been engulfed in turmoil. This conflict was fostered at Versailles in 1919 when the British and French violated numerous solemn pledges and betrayed the Arabs. The last great British defender of the Arabs, T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia") was killed in a motorcycle accident in 1935 shortly before a planned meeting with Hitler. The evidence strongly suggests that Lawrence was murdered by British officials.[33] The Anglo-American partition of Palestine provoked a new Islamic fervor which bears the spark of a Third World War. The American officials who were taken hostage in their own Embassy in Teheran dramatically experienced this Islamic renaissance. There is an imminent danger that the Middle Eastern conflict may erupt into a third world conflagration. This must be avoided at all costs! The NATO and Warsaw Pact armies should therefore be withdrawn from German soil. In addition to sound long-range political considerations by both Washington and Moscow, the development of new long-range weapons can facilitate such a move. America

should take the lead in this. The two artificially created states on German soil have no weight.

People in America and Europe, often misled by sinister forces, shout for peace. Nobody shouts for the prerequisite of real peace: A European Peace Treaty. A consistent and conscientious effort by the super powers leading to a European Peace Treaty must have priority over new armaments. With the implacability of the classical Roman statesman Cato, all Germans should demand ("Ceterum censeo") that the "enemy clause" in the United Nations Charter must be abolished. Above all, the White House should earnestly work for such a peace treaty, which would be more effective and less costly than any armaments race. An active peace policy should have priority over Secretary Weinberger's purely military campaign. Today we seem to be witnessing the squaring of the circle, but in politics nothing is as permanent as change. A bold and courageous step by the United States may one day overcome Roosevelt's fatal decision, expressed to Francis Cardinal Spellman in 1943 that "there will be no peace treaty."[34] As history has shown, no peace treaty means perpetual danger.

Historians have the duty to ask: What was behind the catastrophe of Yalta and Potsdam? Colonel Curtis B. Dall wisely entitled his book *FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law*. Exploited by whom? We Germans found the answer in captured Polish documents. In January 1939, scarcely four months after the Munich Agreement, Polish Ambassdor Jerzy Potocki reported from Washington to Warsaw:

> The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press.
>
> In this action various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt . . . These groups of people who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of "true Americanism" and "defenders of democracy" are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry.
>
> . . . They have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously.
>
> It is the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain

> must put an end to any sort of co npromise with the totalitarian countries. They must not get into any discussions aiming at any kind of territorial changes.
>
> They have the moral assurance that the United States will abandon the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal.[35]

The father of this international "Brain Trust" cabal was Wilson. Under blackmail pressure, he was forced to appoint Louis Dembitz Brandeis, an ardent Zionist, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916.[36] Along with President Wilson, Brandeis bears a major responsibility for pushing America to join Britain's war in order to obtain from her the fateful Balfour Declaration of 1917. In 1939, a year just a crucial as 1916, Roosevelt nominated Felix Frankfurter, Brandeis' intimate friend, as his successor on the Supreme Court. A secret state within a state was gradually developing. University of Pennsylvania Professor Bruce Allen Murphy is the author of the 1982 work, *The Brandeis-Frankfurter Connection*, which is significantly subtitled "The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices."[37] Based on 300 previously unpublished letters from Brandeis to Frankfurter, Murphy reveals that these men clannishly placed their sympathizers in influential positions throughout the U.S. government. As Murphy put it, this made it possible for them to "pull the invisible wires."[38] Among Frankfurter's "extrajudicial successes," Murphy noted that "he (Frankfurter) had helped to prepare the nation for its entry into the (Second World) war and had secured assistance, both material and monetary, for Great Britain."[39] This was, of course, a blatant violation of the U.S. Neutrality Law of 1935. A Supreme Court Justice thus subverted the law.

Worst of all, however, was the ideological influence of these men, which differed radically from the Western tradition of the Founding Fathers. Zionism is an Oriental nationalism based on the spirit of the Old Testament, the pre-Christian Torah and the Babylonian Talmud.[40] It has nothing in common with our civilization, which is rooted in Occidental Hellenic and Roman thinking. Recall what I wrote about the magnanimous treatment of the vanquished by Alexander the Great. His teacher was Aristotle, a disciple of Plato. In a way, Alexander's policy resembled Wilson's slogan, "a war to end all war." However, the President unfortunately abandoned this path by entrusting Bernard Baruch with the preparation of the Versailles conference. It is no accident that it was the Zionists who introduced the spirit of hatred and revenge into Anglo-American foreign policy. Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, called the Versailles settlement

"economic lunacy."[41] In 1944 Morgenthau issued his devastating plan for Germany's ruin.

The "unconditional surrender" concept grew from the same spiritual root. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, proudly claimed for himself and his Congress the honor of first expounding the idea of a tribunal to punish Nazi war criminals.[42] Robert Oppenheimer, the famous Communist-inclined physicist, nearly succeeded in having the first atomic bomb dropped on Kyoto, the cultural heart of Japan. An atomic attack on Kyoto, which is surrounded on three sides by high hills, would have cost many more lives than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, which faces the open sea. Secretary of War Henry Stimson had to use all of his authority to frustrate two attemps by Oppenheimer to have Kyoto selected as the target for the first atomic bombing.[43] Satanic hatred also manifested itself in books. In *Germany Must Perish*, Theodore Nathan Kaufman proposed the compulsary sterilization of all German men and women after victory.[44] Germany was to disappear completely and would be totally partitioned off among neighboring countries. Holland would absorb Hamburg, Poland would acquire Berlin, and Munich would become part of France. Goebbels arranged for widespread distribution of a German translation of Kaufman's book. You can imagine the effect this had on the public! In a 1942 issue of a prominent British magazine, a Jewish emigree who wrote under the pen name of Sebastian Haffner urged the summary killing of at least 500,000 young SS men.[45] This murderous proposal surpassed even Stalin's suggestion at the 1943 Teheran conference that 50,000 German officers should be murdered.[46] Finally, at a mass meeting with New York Mayor La Guardia in 1945, Jewish newspaper mogul Joseph Pulitzer called for the killing of one and a half million Nazis, the German General Staff, industrialists and bankers "with army bullets through their heads." The *New York Times* of 23 May 1945 reported at length on this rally and Pulitzer's proposal without any criticism whatsoever. The contemptible *Times* editors had completely abandoned George Washington's noble sentiment, expressed in his *Farewell Address:* "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great Nation, to give mankind the magnamimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

One of America's greatest generals, George Patton, declared: "We fought the war of 1776 for independence. We fought the Civil War to free the slaves. We fought the war of 1812 to make the world safe for democracy. We fought this war to lose everything we had gained from the other three."[47] Did Patton die for making this critical but accurate statement, in circumstances very similar

to those surrounding the death of Lawrence of Arabia? Dr. James J. Martin once stated that the policy of the Allied "Big Three" is "unequaled in the history of devious statecraft." This policy has led the super powers into a maze. There is no way out, unless they abandon Roosevelt's road to Yalta, a road paved by subversives.

Between 1871 and 1918 the French kept a ribbon of mourning on the statue of "lost" Alsace-Lorraine at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. In the same spirit, should not the Statue of Liberty veil her head to mourn the mockery that Roosevelt had made of this noble, proud and venerated symbol? In the search for new horizons of honesty, devotion and love of country, we must courageously oppose those who preach hatred, Marxist class struggle or hollow internationalism. Hope is dawning . . . Let us not forget that although Anglo-American bombers killed many hopeful specialists at the German rocket center of Peenemuende, fruitful German-American collaboration since the war at Cape Canaveral has brought us to the moon! Columbus would envy us!

Notes

1. See: Ludwig Klages, *Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele,* 2 vols. (1929). Klages was a German philosophical pioneer.
2. Bernard M. Baruch, *My Own Story* (London: Oddhouse Press, 1958), p. 276.
3. New York: Harper & Bros., 1920. New edition: New York: 1970.
4. Baruch (1920, 1970), pp. 5, 8.
5. *Akten zur deutschen und auswaertigen Politik,* (Baden Baden: 1956), Serie D (1937–1945), Band VI, Dokument 403 (17 May 1939), p. 441. Cited in: David L. Hoggan, *Der erzwungene Krieg* (Tuebingen: 1974), p. 520.
6. A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (German edition of 1930), p. 173.
7. Hitler, pp. 722-724.
8. Chajn Leon, *Wolnomularstwo w II Rzeczypospolitet* (Warsaw: Cytelnik, 1975).
9. Earl Jowitt, *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* (London: 1953).
10. Curtis B. Dall, *FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law* (1972).
11. *The Journal of Historical Review,* Vol. 4, No. 4, (Winter 1983-84), pp. 391-395.
12. H. Fish, *Tragic Deception* (Old Greenwich, CN: Devin Adair, 1983), p. 94.
13. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974 and 1979.
14. This listing of prisoners was published in the Moscow army daily *Krasnaya Zvezda* ("Red Star") of 17 Sept. 1940. All correspondence

between the Polish prisoners and their relatives was cut off in the spring of 1940. General Sikorski was unable to get any information about their whereabouts from Stalin on 3 Dec. 1940. See also: Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn.*

15. Helmut Suendermann, *Tagesparolen: Deutsche Presseweisungen 1939–1945,* (Leoni: Druffel Verlag, 1973), pp. 186, 209ff.
16. Konstantin Fotitch, *Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York: 1948). Fotitch, a Serb, was the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington. See the record of his conversation with Prince Paul of 1 March 1941.
17. Moscow: 1978. (Russian edition, pp. 6-7?)
18. Erich Helmdach, *Ueberfall?,* (Neckargemuend: 1975).
19. F. Frankfurter to William J. Donovan, 20 October 1941, p. 14. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Container 243, File 004234 Miscellany.
20. Personal information by eyewitness Dr. Josef Jindrich, Munich. See also: Paul Carell, *Unternehmen Barbarossa,* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 167, Map 9, and Vol. 2, p. 284.
21. *Sorge Jiken* ("The Sorge Case"), (Tokyo: 1962).
22. C.A. Willoughby, *Sorge: Soviet Master Spy* (London: Wm. Kimber, 1952). Published in the U.S. by Dutton as *Shanghai Conspiracy.* See also: Freda Utley, *Last Chance in China* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merill, 1947).
23. Peter Herde, *Pearl Harbor: 7. Dez. 1941,* (Darmstadt: 1980), Kapitel II, pp. 42-273.
24. Friedrich Berber, *Die Amerikanische Neutralitaet im Kriege, 1939–1941,* (Essen: 1943) Dokumentenanhang, pp. 163-190.
25. Congressional Investigation, Pearl Harbor Attack, Part 3, pp. 1132-1133.
26. *Index of NSA/CSS Cryptologic Documents Offered to and Accepted by The National Archives of the United States as of 30 November 1981.* (Record Group 457, Modern Military Branch, Military Archives Division)
27. Ranjan Borra, "India's War of Liberation," *The Journal of Historical Review,* Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 407-439.
28. Quoted in: Gary Allen, *None Dare Call it Conspiracy,* (German edition, 1971, p. 10)
29. *Meyers Enzyklopaedisches Lexikon* (Mannheim: 1979), Vol. 25, p. 215.
30. *Twenty-Second Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* [for period ending 31 December 1945] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 17, 26.
31. The dealer was "Raznoimport," USSR. Sent by "Amtorg," New York. Order No. 21-73/043058. Facsimile in: Peter Kleist, *Die europaeische Tragoedie* (Pr. Oldendorf: K.W. Schuetz, 1971), p. 65. See also: George R. Jordan, *From Major Jordan's Diaries* (Boston: Western Islands, 1965).
32. P. Kleist, p. 311.
33. Desmond Hansen, "The Enigma of Lawrence," *The Journal of Historical Review,* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 286-287.

34. R.I. Gannon, *The Cardinal Spellman Story*. Quoted in: Leon De Poncins, *State Secrets*, p. 91.
35. Potocki dispatches of 12 and 16 January 1939. Mark Weber, "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 147, 148, 149.
36. Conrad Grieb, *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts*, (New York: Examiner Books, 1979), pp. 39-40.
37. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 473pp.
38. B.A. Murphy, p. xi.
39. B.A. Murphy, p. 302.
40. M. Schloessinger, *Rashi: His Life and His Work* (Baltimore: 1905). Rashi, which means "learning," was the most authoritative interpreter of the Talmud.
41. James Pool and Suzanne Pool, *Who Financed Hitler?* (New York: Dial Press, 1979, pb.), p. 309.
42. Nahum Goldmann, *Memories*, pp. 216-217.
43. Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed* (New York: A Knopf, 1975), pp. 230-231.
44. Newark, NJ: Argyle Press, 1941.
45. *World Review* (London), August 1942. See also: M. Weber, "Sebastian Haffner's 1942 Call for Mass Murder," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1983), pp. 380-382.
46. Elliot Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, (New York: 1946), pp. 188-191.
47. C. Grieb, p. 138.

Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions

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(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

The main source of Plato's dialectic was of course the legendary Socrates, who, because he left no literary written legacy, has become a largely legendary figure like Jesus. For a record of Socrates the popular soldier one reads Xenophon. An insight into Socrates the sophist, who believed in the old Sumerian pedagogical adage that a teacher is good in proportion to the extent that he can make his students cantankerous, perpetually argumentative, and incurably neurotic, one reads in Aristophanes. And for Socrates the serious philosopher, which of course is the aspect of his reputation that made him justifiably famous, one reads Plato, the most famous disciple of Socrates who later on was also the principal teacher of the great Aristotle, who, like Socrates, was hounded to a disgraceful death. Socrates was punished for corrupting the aristocratic youth of Athens, and Aristotle was punished for developing the brains and leverage of Alexander the Great, and hence he was hunted down and died less than one year after the death of his illustrious and still very youthful Macedonian pupil. Just as William Joyce was condemned to death in England in 1945 for treason despite the fact that he was a U.S.A. citizen and an Irish nationalist, the Athenians pursuing Aristotle seemed unmindful of the fact that, like Alexander, he too was of Macedonian origin. Plato, on the other hand, had gone to Socrates as one of the aristocratic and golden blond Athenian

youths through and through, and, beloved by his democratic polis regardless of the fact that he always hated democracy as an insane leveling system and always fought against it, he died a very pleasant death during his sleep one night in Athens at the ripe age of eighty.

Unlike the writings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripedes, with part of their extant works destroyed due to their concentration in the main Hellenistic University at Alexandria/Egypt when the Jews in one of their nihilistic and bloodthirsty perennial revolutions burned what was the largest library the world was ever to see until the emergence of modern printing in 15th-century Germany, the many dialogues of the fortunate golden Athenian Plato have been preserved for posterity, including Plato's famous allegory of the cave in his most famous and portentous dialogue, *The Republic*. Except for a few of the Sumerian classics, this allegory alone explains to modern mankind what the nature and the purpose of civilization have become.

According to Plato in his allegory of the cave, barbarian peoples, whether Viking-like marauders from the Atlantis region of the North Sea described by Plato who tried to loot and destroy Egyptian civilization around 1200 B.C., the same time that the paleolithic barbarian Hebrew people tried to occupy South Palestine as nomad invaders from the Arabian desert, or the Semitic Amorite invaders who only became semi-civilized and developed Babylon after genociding the nineteen republics of the magnificent Sumerians, with the latter, so far as we know today, being the originators of all existing civilization due to their three magnificent innovations of written records, urbanization, and free enterprise, these barbarian peoples being by stipulative definition unfree because of their slavish subjection in the Spenglerian sense to *totem* and *taboo*, just as the pre-Greek Mycenaean barbarians were the unfree slaves of superstition as described by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were in Plato's magnificent allegory like prisoners in a dark cave staring at shadowy reflections on the walls that were only dimly related to the real world that they reflected, until Socrates came and freed them all and led them upward from darkness into the light. Especially from Plato onward the Greek academy, or university, saw in Greek *paideia*, or education, an obligation, whenever possible, to follow the original Sumerian tradition, and we now have transliterated enough hundreds of thousands of clay tablets in Sumerian cuneiform to comprehend the incredible vitality and eloquence of those original Sumerian schools, and to lead all peoples upward into the light. That is why Plato's pupil Aristotle made a special effort to civilize the wild barbarian youth Alex-

ander, an effort which failed, as witness Alexander's drunken murder of his best friend, Black Cleitus, who had saved his life in the Battle of the Granicus, of his murder of Aristotle's own nephew, who was the official historian of Alexander's marauding expedition against Persia, and, above all, his insanely barbarian kill-or-be-killed vendetta against Darius III, the brave but urbane Iranian benevolent despot. By the same token the able and brilliant Polybius, a hostage in Rome from the Hellenic Achaean League, flattered the Romans by giving them more credit than justly was their due in the realm of politics, but he could neither civilize them nor prevent their incredibly brutal genociding of the great Carthaginian mercantile civilization. It was not until Lucretius and the spread of Greek Epicureanism that Rome became civilized.

Now Plato's dialectical method, as everyone knows, begins in its basic form with the deductive reasoning of the classical Hellenic syllogism, where one formulates an adequate major premise, confronts it with a contrary and qualifying minor premise, and from this artificially induced confrontation derives a synthesis or conclusion. This play of 1) thesis, 2) antithesis, and 3) synthesis is at the root of all twenty of Plato's dialogues, and, knowing as we do that the greatest Greek historian Thucydides was merely paraphrasing when he offered to his readers the verbatim speeches of contemporary rival Dorian and Ionian politicians and military leaders in his epic narrative of the monumental Peloponnesian War, we would be naive indeed if we believed that we could accept literally the facts that Plato offers us about Socrates. Take the case of the magnificent *Republic* with which we are concerned in this context. The discussion takes place against the background of events that existed when Plato was only seven years old. Now although it is a fact that Plato in the bosom of his own family already had met Socrates by the time that Plato himself was only aged seven, surely nobody would believe seriously that in the *Republic* Plato wrote at the age of sixty he was recording accurately philosophical discussions that he had perhaps listened to fifty-three years earlier, particularly when those talks were the most subtle and sophisticated ones that the world had ever known down to that time, and certainly, *cela va sans dire,* no U.S.A. university graduate seminar in philosophy could equal them today.

Nobody could have been more of a revisionist than Plato. Just as we know today that England wantonly unleashed both World War I in 1914 and World War II in 1939 against a Germany that on each occasion was trying its best to be friendly with her, so Plato, born during the Peloponnesian War which resulted, as Oswald Spengler correctly pointed out in his epochal *The Decline of the*

West, in the permanent divorce in the Ancient World between the source of political power and the source of culture, a development always fatal in any civilization if it is not corrected, so Plato knew that Athens, not the Dorian Spartans, caused that horrible internecine war which buried the freedom of Greece, firstly, because democratic Athenian demagogues wantonly destroyed the traditional alliance between Athens and Sparta in 462 B.C., and secondly, because the worst of those demagogues, the depraved and arrogant Pericles, seized on an issue at distant Corfu in Western Greece to unleash that fatal and unnecessary war.

The Peloponnesian War that began in 431 B.C. buried classical Greece historically speaking, although it is only fair to add that contemporaries could not have understood that in the same final sense that we do. Plato came closer than anybody to suspecting right at the time that the late 5th century B.C. blow struck against Greece by the Greeks themselves was in fact mortal. That explains the pessimism that pervades the writings of this otherwise exuberant blond Athenian. One has the feeling reading Plato that was cogently expressed by Prussian Foreign Minister Radowitz on the eve of the 1850 humiliation inflicted on Hohenzollern Prussia, namely, the unilateral Prussian repudiation of the Erfurt German Unity Plan, by Habsburg Austria and Romanov Russia: Radowitz complained that he was experiencing exactly the same feeling of the soldier entering a globally decisive battle with the absolute certainty that he would be defeated. But there is the same devotion to duty in Plato that there was later in Radowitz and still later in the NSDAP as expressed by the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe in his magnificently sensitive book, *Verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* (Damned Duty and Responsibility.) He symbolizes it by quoting from a popular SA song about a small cadre of SA men marching into a large town at sundown and restoring order. To Schaumburg-Lippe the sundown theme expresses the heroic last ditch effort that in the long run could very possibly fail. I can only speak for myself, but I hope to God the day will never come when I allow the threat of failure to compromise my idealism. Bob LaFollette in his 1911 autobiography put it another way: "In politics it is always better to take no loaf than half a loaf." Or as Henrik Ibsen put it in his Alpine epic *Brand*: "The Devil is compromise!" For instance, I consider that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler were extremely great men in both the affective and cognitive domains. All three were kind and considerate, and all three were brilliant leaders of the German people against all odds. The fact that Bismarck made a success whereas the Kaiser and Hitler did not has nothing to do with my attitude because I am not a superficial pragmatist in the tradition of Peirce, James, and Dewey, and because I do not worship what William James called

the "bitch-goddess success." If I believe that those three great leaders were correct and that their goals were valid, which is in fact my definitive and mature opinion, I will continue to proclaim that truth regardless of the money and power brought against me by any deluded so-called "chosen people."

Plato's revisionism was by no means limited to war origins. He believed that the downward turn in Athenian politics began with the so-called democratic reform of Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. Indeed, such disastrous wars as the Peloponnesian War, the Thirty Years War, World War I or World War II are in and of themselves no more than the symptoms of the disease. For instance, no nation has exercised a more dire influence on 20th-century global forces than the U.S.A., although certainly no sane person would argue that the same thing was true of the U.S.A. in the 18th or 19th centuries. What is the source of this remarkable *malaise*? The *B'nai B'rith* (Brothers of the Faith) were founded at Philadelphia in 1843 with the express purpose of seizing control of the U.S.A. public media, a goal which they had largely achieved fifty years later by 1893. Thus in pluralistic America one small minority seized a commanding position, and even the great Henry Ford, Sr., was challenged when he attempted to challenge the Jewish U.S.A. power monopoly during the 1920's. Meanwhile, *B'nai B'rith* established a main European headquarters at Berlin/Germany in 1880. The purpose of that move, of course, was the destruction of Tsarist Christian Russia, the homeland at that time of a majority of all the Jews on earth, just as today, one century later, the U.S.A. enjoys that same dubious distinction. France had been the main target of Jewish subversion down to the failure of the largely Jewish Paris Commune of 1871; for instance, Napoleon I, after vainly appealing for patriotism instead of selfishness to the Paris Sanhedrin (Great Jewish Council) in 1807 (the Jews for the first time had received full French citizenship in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, which Napoleon never revoked), exclaimed: "These Jewish locusts are devouring my beloved France!" As everyone knows, the Jewish destruction of Russia in 1917 was successful, with supreme power over the wretched Russian masses going to Lenin's first *Politburo* (the Soviet Executive Committee) of whose original eighteen members no less than thirteen were Jews. Now the traditionally free enterprise U.S.A., albeit with Jewish monopoly control over the public media for the past ninety years, is locked, due to FDR's initial action, into a permanent global alliance with the USSR behind the phoney camouflage screen of the Cold War declared by Harry Truman on March 12, 1947, in a public speech to the U.S.A. Congress at the behest of the English imperialists, who hoped to replace U.S.A. in the middle of the global diplomatic teeter-totter. However, English crimes had rendered them too feeble to do that effectively.

It is clear that of the six supremely great rational philosophers of classical Hellas, namely, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno (the latter founder of Stoicism was orgininally an Arab resident of Cyprus who was Hellenized there and who became great as a philosopher only after moving to Athens, where Plato's Academy, or university, functioned continuously until it was closed by the last Latin-speaking Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and, above all, by the real power behind the throne, Empress Theodora, who, until her death from cancer, had become the supreme commercial prostitute of Byzantium, a career described for us eloquently by the great Byzantine historian Procopius), that of all these great Hellenic philosophers, only Plato was a thoroughgoing revisionist in the modern sense understood by us, namely, the capacity of civilized man for independent thought. Despite the sterling objectivity of the great Athenian historian Thucydides, who, despite his own historical role as a patriotic Athenian combat general, was willing and able to prove that it was the Athenian democratic demagogues, not the proud militaristic Spartans, who alone caused the ruinous Peloponnesian War, it cannot be contended in any meaningful sense that Thucydides was a revisionist in the same modern sense that is applicable to Plato. As everyone knows, the traditional concept of "court history," namely, historians bribed to tell eloquent lies about their country like Livy, originates only with the scoundrel Emperor Augustus, who, along with his great-uncle Julius Caesar, was one of the two main perpetrators of the assassination of the original aristocratic Roman Republic described for us by Polybius. Indeed, his minister Maecenas made a regular policy of bribing poets like Vergil as well as historians like Livy. Although the great Tacitus was an independent Roman historian who refused to be bought by the Roman court, and, indeed, Tacitus is in fact the supreme Latin-language historian of all time in exactly the same way that Thucydides is the number one Greek-language historian of all time, Tacitus simply ignored the Roman court historians rather than presuming to attack them, and of course Thucydides, in Athens the one and only supreme chronicler of the great Peloponnesian War, had no court historians to attack. Beyond all that, Plato had developed a complete *Weltbild* in a way that Thucydides never did, and in a way that Tacitus never understood. Would anyone deny that the three German great ones, namely, Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler, each had such a complete individual *Weltbild*? Certainly not. Would any competent person claim that any of the three main opponents of Hitler in World War II, namely, the drunken plagiarist Churchill, the pornographic mama's boy FDR, or the lover of crime and murder for its own sake, Stalin, had an individually independent *Weltbild*?

Again the answer would have to be: certainly not. That the three German great ones were millions of light years in intellectual quality beyond the standards of leadership traditionally acceptable and even admired in England, U.S.A., and USSR simply goes without saying, and this is particularly true when we recall that in Plato's allegory of the cave it was precisely the possession of this individual and independent *Weltbild* that gave Socrates the powerful leverage to lead mankind out of the dark and shadowy realm of merely shadows into the bright and golden civilized light of true manliness and substance. If one had to identify succinctly the intellectual power of Sumer to create and to sustain a first universal civilization, thus cutting short by millions of years the wallowing of mankind in superstitious and mindless barbarism, would not one have to concede that it was in fact this ability of many, many individual Sumerians to develop independent *Weltbilder* in the context of a literate, free-enterprise, and extremely sophisticated society that gave them the Archimedean point of leverage to establish the glory of a permanent civilization on this glorious and beautiful globe of ours? For instance, the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh,* although composed several *millennia* before the Hebrew Old Testament, is incomparably more humane, urbane, literary, and sensible than the latter with its hideous nonsense about Jehovah creating the sun on the so-called fourth day. How in the hell could those first three days have transpired without a sun? As a matter of fact, it was precisely the achievement of Socrates and Plato to restore civilization back to the high standards that had prevailed thirteen hundred years earlier before the savage Semitic Amorites of Hammurabi genocided all of Sumer at a moment of military advantage in the same way that FDR, who had three separate plans of sterilization, atomic destruction, and starvation, very nearly genocided Germany during the years from 1941 to 1945. Fortunately for all mankind, the supremely Satanic FDR died in the arms of one of his many whores on April 12, 1945, and, albeit ten percent of Germans due to FDR had died by that time, the other 90% were spread in several small and truncated territories.

It should be seen in retrospect that the Athenian imperialistic warmonger, Pericles, who, unlike FDR with less than five years of college and a low "C" average, was something of an intellectual, was almost angelic compared to FDR, the greatest war criminal of all time and the American Antichrist. What a horrifying commentary it is on the unspeakably abysmal standards of U.S.A. public life after more than ninety years of the tyrannical Jewish monopoly of the public media that only the *epigoni* of FDR are considered eligible by that same media to hold presidential office, and that all U.S.A. presidents since the death of FDR the tyrant in 1945

have in fact been his *epigoni*. With the exception of Ronald Reagan, who simply adores FDR and has never made any secret of that fact, all of the other successors, including Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter either disliked or utterly detested FDR personally, much like the *epigoni* of the scoundrel Augustus and his court historians in Rome, but the fact remains that all of them have found it necessary to praise FDR to the skies in their public messages. One is reminded of the official memoirs of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* (Things Accomplished), and his last recorded words as he lay dying at Nola in 14 A.D.: "Have I not been a good actor?" The worst crimes of Augustus, including the murder of the great Cicero in 43 B.C. when the latter was at the peak of his productive power, and the senseless dispossession and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people on alleged grounds of mere suspicion, took place during the fifteen years after sixty Roman senators successfully conspired to assassinate the tyrant Julius Caesar with his hypocritical and phoney *clementia*, yet the Augustus official memoirs, in typical court historical fashion, only commence after the passage of those fifteen bloody years. The same is true when FDR's *epigoni* present him as a goody-goody two-shoes humanitarian while ignoring his bloody effort to genocide eighty million Germans along with his myriad other crimes. Although Pericles was not as bad as Augustus, and not nearly so bad as FDR, Plato makes it unmistakably clear in his dialogues that Socrates was the indispensable advisor of the counter-revolutionaries who sought at Athens by both suasion and force to overturn the Cleisthenes-Periclean system which had failed politically, ethically, and socially, and which was in the process of destroying Greece. Can any imperialistic crime be more brutal than the slaughter of the good Dorians of Melos merely because they aspired to preserve their benevolent neutrality toward all combatant parties? Does that not remind one of the role of FDR and his OSS chief Wild Bill Donovan in cooperation with the English secret service and the Soviet NKVD in overthrowing the legitimate government of Yugoslavia merely because that unfortunate country wished to preserve its benevolent neutrality in the latest Anglo-German War, with the English, as usual, being both the initial aggressors and the ones who hoped to perpetuate a senseless and horrible war indefinitely? Did not the fact that the U.S.A. was still officially and legally neutral in April 1941 add to the horrid crime of FDR a special ingredient of iniquity? All sources agree that it was FDR's ploy that converted Yugoslav Air Force Minister Simovic, the chief of the revolutionaries, to the *putsch* plan and especially since FDR, supposedly neutral, threatened to treat the Yugoslavs as a permanent enemy of the U.S.A. unless they complied. Have any

FDR *epigoni* ever expressed regret that as a result of the dastardly Simovic-Nincic *coup* more than two million civilian Roman Catholic Croats and *Pravoslaven* Greek Orthodox Serbs perished in senseless internecine slaughter, and that out of this chaos the Stalin agent and bloody butcher Josip Broz, known to history as Tito (Stalin always called him by his World War I Bolshevist alias Walther), climbed to power and built fifty concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of Christian Serbs and Croats, Islamic Bosniaks, minority Albanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Germans perished? There was a time when the official Beograd Tito newspaper *Borba* took special pride in the efficiency of these camps, where on certain days children witnessed the public execution of their parents and on other days parents witnessed the public execution of their children. Can anyone deny that from 1941 onward the U.S.A.-Jewish public media have given Tito a favorable press, whereas the brilliant book, *Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse*, by Slobdan Drashkovich, one of the sons of the anti-Communist Yugoslav Prime Minister Drashkovich, who was murdered from ambush by the Communists, has sold less than three thousand copies albeit in print for several decades?

The reason that Plato's revisionism extended from immediate war causes to the entire host of iniquities in the prevailing system was because Plato knew that the war in question was merely the symptom of the disease. Important as it is to analyze carefully the crime of unleashing deliberately the unnecessary war, it is equally important, like Plato in *The Republic*, to endeavor to reform the rotten society that produced the crime. For instance, if the U.S.A. Progressive movement, under Fighting Bob LaFollette during the era of its heyday from 1900 to 1925, had ever succeeded in bringing honest and responsible government at the national level to the U.S.A. for the first time, the imperialistic crimes of Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt could have been speedily and neatly undone, and the unspeakable and gargantuan crimes of Woody Wilson could have been prevented. Without the precedent of Wilson, the crime program of FDR could never have taken off and a deadly and serious effort to annihilate the entire German people could never have been made. It is because Plato saw this, namely, that without the corruption of the Athenian system by Cleisthenes a criminal career like that of Pericles would have been impossible, that the main thrust of *The Republic* is to reform society in precisely the same way that modern revisionists confront that same problem. The details of Plato's reforms need not concern us here beyond the general assertion that they were a giant step in the right direction. Furthermore, Plato's dialectic described earlier made it possible to present instrumental objectives and ultimate goals in a fair, lucid, and rational manner.

How different the situation is when we turn to Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) and Karl Marx (1818-1883). These two rascals, superficially opposite numbers with Hegel advocating idealism and Marx advocating materialism, were in reality like twin peas in a pod with both addicted to a barbarian worship of power for its own sake. Both were supreme cynics and hypocrites, adept at disguising their wolf plans in sheep's clothing. Hegel, even more than Marx, was also a supreme weather-vane without any ordinary integrity who claimed that it was all right to change fashions in opinions like fashions in clothes, with consistency becoming the virtue of small minds. Hegel as a young man was a fanatical advocate for Frederician Prussia, but no sooner had the guns cooled on the battlefields of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806 than he became a Bonapartist and proclaimed Napoleon I to be the so-called *Zeitgeist*. After the Congress of Vienna concluded its labors in 1815, Hegel suddenly discovered in the feeble and utterly corrupt Metternichean stooge Prussian monarch Frederick William III the perfect guardian of German liberties, although that same monarch had proclaimed publicly that he would rather roast in Hell than accept any of the sane and moderate political reform plans of Arndt, Hardenberg, and Stein.

Unfortunately, even more than Arndt, Fichte, and Kant, this same Hegel was a genius in formulating magnificent abstract conceptions and in clothing them in almost irresistibly seductive language. It was due partly to Hegel that the Machiavellian cynicism of the end justifying the means, whereas Plato had understood clearly enough that the end is determined by the means, became a temporarily dominant force in Central European ideology and political theory down through the 1830's until a new Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, who also happened to be an intellectual, revived the supremacy of philosophical idealism after he came to the throne in 1840, and of course it was during the 1830's that the impressionable Marx entered the German university system as a freshman student. Essentially, Hegel was a materialistic utilitarian like Jeremy Bentham in England, and his lip service to the idealism of freedom, like that of Marx to the so-called eventual withering away of the state, was just a pose. Influenced as he was by the great 17th-century Italian historian, Giambattista Vico, and by the great 18th-century German historian Johann Gottfried Herder, Hegel imagined human history moving in spirals toward an explicit goal of perfection, and to Hegel that goal was the perfect omniscient and omnipotent state, which he camouflaged in the quaint notion that perfect human freedom could only then be attained when every libertarian individual identified his own will with that of the state. Like Marx, Hegel in reality was eager to move as far and as fast as he could

away from any real liberty. Karl Marx, of course, was the typical Jew copycat in politics that wealthy Felix Mendelssohn with his unlimited appetite for plagiarism was in music, and it is safe to say that the Karl Marx-Vladimir Lenin ideology of supreme totalitarian Communism could never have emerged in the world as the monstrosity that it is without the Hegelian adaptation of Plato's dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Hegel himself was the indispensable *deus ex machina*, and although the primitive Lenin complained in letters in 1916 from his room next to the sausage factory in Zuerich/Switzerland that after six months of diligent effort he was simply intellectually incapable of understanding Hegel, that did not matter because young Marx had understood Hegel clearly enough and Lenin was capable of understanding the more crude and simplistic philosophy of Karl Marx. In their worship of absolutism, Hegel, Marx, and Lenin were unmistakable disciples of Voltaire just as Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler were the disciples of Rousseau who put his faith in people.

We can move now to the five so-called modern revolutions in England (1688), U.S.A. (1776), France (1789), Russia (1917), and Germany (1933). It is my thesis, and I have no doubt that Plato would have agreed with me, that the most promising of these five revolutions was the German one, with the French one following in second place. It is possible to proceed succinctly because we have established a context with a specific standard for evaluating revolutions, and, for that matter, any other political developments, based squarely as that standard is on the norms of a successful civilization as invented and demonstrated by Sumer and as revived and restored in Hellas by Socrates and Plato.

Now it goes without saying that in terms of historical prestige in society at large the Great French Revolution of 1789 continues to be the modern revolution number one. Consider that when professional historians divide the 5500 years of recorded civilization like Caesar's ancient Gaul into three parts, with Ancient History 4,000 years from the origins in Sumer to the fall of Classical Rome, with Medieval History from that point to the Age of Global Discovery in 1500 A.D., a span of one thousand years, and with Modern History the 500 years since the Age of Discovery, there is only one generally recognized sub-division employing a precise date, namely, the dividing line between Early Modern History and Recent Modern History based upon the advent of the Great French Revolution in 1789. Although the Han Chinese have written more history than the historians of all the other nations of the world combined, the revolution in world history about which the most had been written by historians is still the Great French Revolution, and certainly in my opinion that great theme deserves the full extent of its historical treatment down to the present time.

The so-called English Glorious Revolution of 1688 presents a very different picture, and although in American textbook ballyhoo its importance is blown out of all proportion because of the 1689 adoption of the so-called English Bill of Rights, it was actually a charter of privilege for the less than 3% of adult males who received the suffrage under the settlement terms of that revolution. The coalition of Whig landowners and merchants who carried through that *putsch* under their anti-French puppet, William of Orange, were actually the victorious leaders of a counter-revolution which purged the libertarian English political parties of *Levelers* and *Diggers* with their aspirations for universal human rights, and permanently disenfranchised the Catholics, who had still been the English majority one century earlier, plus the Methodists, Quakers, Jews, and, except for Scotland under the 1707 settlement, Presbyterians. At the same time, everyone was liable for taxes to the Church of England alone, the so-called hybrid Anglican Church, although at no time in subsequent English history did it come close to becoming the church and faith of the English majority. At the same time, the tolerant policy in Ireland of the legitimate Stuart sovereign James II came speedily to an end, and after the Stuart cause met with defeat on the River Boyne in 1690, an era of fierce persecution followed which culminated in the deliberate attempt to genocide the Irish by applying the so-called Corn Laws against them throughout the entire duration of the potato famine of 1846-49. Consider what the late Herbert Hoover would have called a powerful statistic. In 1800, the population of Ireland was eight million and the population of England was eleven million. In 1900, the population of Ireland was four million and the population of England was forty million. It is true that Puritan Dictator Cromwell had deliberately genocided 1.5 million Irish during the Irish national uprising of the 1640's in retaliation for the Irish assassination of a score of English landlords, but statistically the deliberate Whig genociding of the Irish during the mid-19th century was even more impressive.

The suffrage was kept under 3% in England throughout the entire six generations from 1688 to 1832. Then, in response to the July 1830 Louis Philipe revolution in France which expanded the French suffrage by 1,000% although it by no means restored the universal suffrage of the Jacobin Constitution of 1793, Lord Russell and the English Whigs put through the so-called Victorian Compromise, which led to an English suffrage expanded from less than 3% to less than 5% for the subsequent 1½ generations down to 1867, the year that Bismarck established universal suffrage in the North German Federation. John Locke, who, unlike Rousseau, was interested in money and titles rather than people, white-

washed the 1688 coup, although he had been a devoted disciple of Thomas Hobbes and his absolutism down to the death of the latter in 1677. The Doublespeak language of the Whigs in calling their reactionary plot a glorious revolution should deceive nobody, because it was like the earlier Vikings calling their largest frozen island Greenland to attract unwary settlers.

The U.S.A. Revolution of 1776 is a classic example of a revolution that might have become a truly great one, but that instead became a petty and debased one because it went wrong in its concluding phase. When one considers the impudence of U.S.A. savants during the 1980's in teaching young minds in what the all-time greatest U.S.A. educational philosopher, Porter Edward Sargent (1874-1951), called "the continuing struggle for the control over the minds of American youth" (a concept that would have been especially dear to Plato, author of *The Republic*), namely, that merely because the 1776 U.S.A. Revolution preceded the 1789 French Revolution chronologically by a few years, *ergo ipso facto*: the U.S.A. Revolution was the principal cause of the French Revolution, we are surely encountering the all-time leading example of the tail attempting to wag the dog. Hegel once remarked jokingly that shredding learned books and mixing them with the food of your dog will not increase the intelligence of your dog just even one iota, and by the same token the German *Spiessbuerger* (complacent bourgeois) *Biedermeierzeit* after 1815, which Hegel experienced late in life and which can be compared only to the post-1919 U.S.A. atmosphere described by Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street,* and which in both cases included the smug habit of exhibiting in den bookcases popular learned books never really read but exhibited only for show (like Harry Truman telling Richard Current, the historian who authored *Henry Stimson,* at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri: "Oh, yes, I have read your latest book on that bookshelf behind my desk, a truly excellent book!," which was scarcely conceivable in view of the fact that Current in that same book described Truman, the political gangster of Kansas City, Missouri, as the worst president that the U.S.A. had ever had although he had been FDR's voluntary choice from among all of the available candidates); in short, Hegel was correct in his assertion that the learned book displayed in the den does not educate the Booboisie (favorite H.L. Mencken term for the U.S.A. bourgeoisie) any more than mixing books with your dog's diet will educate your dog. By the same token, when U.S.A. court historians assert repeatedly that the U.S.A. Revolution was the main factor in bringing on the French Revolution, this stupid propaganda lie can in no way guarantee that such actually was the case. In reality, it was the other way around, namely, the ideas of the great French Enlightenment thinkers—after all, 90% of the

Enlightenment was in fact French, just as 90% of the Reformation according to the great second-generation French religious reformer Jean Calvin was in fact German—these great 18th-century French ideas of geniuses like Quesny and Rousseau were what sparked the American revolutionary movement against England when the English mercantilist-imperialists began to put the economic screws on their colonies after the elimination of French imperial competition at the Peace of Paris in 1763, and on the specious and utterly dishonest pretext that the Americans had to be punished for their illicit smuggling trade with the French West Indies during the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763. In reality, illicit English smuggling trade with France across the English Channel during that same war was one hundred times greater than similar American trade while at the same time the average American carried a much greater burden in combat during that war than did the average Englishman. There was no serious shortage of gold and silver in England during the 18th century of English mercantilism in which the state steered the economy rather than allowing genuine free enterprise, but there was indeed a catastrophic shortage of gold and silver in the American colonies during that same period. Also, the official English attitude toward the Americans was that of the outstanding English Enlightenment figure, Dr. Samuel Johnson: "Sir, hanging is too good for them!"

There were some excellent American grassroots revolutionary leaders during the early phase of the movement after 1763 such as Sam Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia, patriots, incidentally, who are almost always debunked by contemporary U.S.A. court historians, but with the propaganda success of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* early in 1776 and the joining of the cause by wealthy or ambitious men who were essentially Tories such as George Washington, Ben Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, the American counter-revolution against the original revolutionary ideals was already in full swing and the triumph of this same counter-revolution made hash of the initial revolutionary movement by concluding the shameful separate peace with England early in 1783, although in the freely negotiated Franco-American alliance of 1778 the U.S.A. had promised that they would not do this, and, above all, after the 1787 secret and illegal convention presided over by George Washington at Philadelphia, in the creation in 1789, despite a majority of votes to the contrary, of the plutocratic and anti-democratic reactionary regime that has continued without fundamental changes down to the present day.

The English plutocratic oligarchs and imperialists who in 1789 were continuing to profit from the so-called Glorious Revolution of one century earlier were delighted with the 1783 separate peace

and, above all, with the pro-English Tory regime that came into power under the aegis of George Washington in 1789. During 48 of the first 60 years under the new system, and that is 80% of the time, U.S.A. presidents were human slaveowners personally using the leather slave whip on their recalcitrant slaves. The cruel English landlord in Ireland, Edmund Burke, was delighted with U.S.A. developments after 1776 because politically he was a Whig, not a Tory, and he favored the pristine 1688 oligarch system over the Lord Bolingbroke and general Tory attempt to restore some actual power to a patriot king, but he had nothing but horror as early as 1790 to express in condemning events in France in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* because that movement, instead of being led by reactionary Voltaire disciples like Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, was led by the disciples of Rousseau, who cared more for people than for money and titles, like Max Robespierre. Does not the fact that the English oligarchs, with their cynical and unbridled contempt for humanity, were complacent and even satisfied with the results of the U.S.A. revolution show that, at least temporarily, the U.S.A. revolution had failed, and does not their horror and dread of the French revolution suggest that the latter held real promise in challenging their own corrupt imperialistic system?

That the Great French Revolution of 1789 ended temporarily in a fiasco was first and foremost the result of the typical aggressive policies and war crimes of the English imperialists, a policy fully supported by the reactionary U.S.A. Federalist leaders during the Federalist Era which covered the decisive twelve years from 1789 to 1801. Had it not been for such ceaseless English aggression, there is a more than fair chance that a modern free enterprise regime based upon capitalism and political universal manhood suffrage along the lines provided in the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 could have been firmly established and could have co-existed successfully as a kind of showcase to such monarchical mercantilistic regimes as those of 18th-century England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. That no such development resulted attests to the spoiling success of the English imperialists and of their reactionary American stooges. However, for France the ultimate importance of 1789 was the push toward a more modern society.

The worst of the five revolutions discussed in this context was clearly the Russian Soviet Revolution of November 1917, a development in civilization so horribly regressive that its full implications still are not grasped down to the present day by ordinary people. A California expert on the evils of Communism, when told by a friend that he was tired of hearing the same old record, asked that friend to compute the additive sum total of two plus two, and when the response was the correct "four!" the expert on Communism commented wearily: "Same old record!"

Karl Marx, like Hegel, was a blind worshipper of power for its own sake, and although Marx lacked the original conceptual brilliance of Hegel, he more than made up for that in his unprecedented mendacity. Richard Wagner's friend from the Dresden revolutionary barricades of the May 1849 Saxon defense of the Frankfurt Parliament and the concept of a united German Reich, the Russian philosophical anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, succeeded by his brilliance, eloquence, and indefatigable hostility in destroying the infamous Karl Marx First Revolutionary International after the failure of the 1871 Commune. Marx, although at that time only fifty-four, drifted away into mindless alcoholism, becoming what the Londoners call a "pub-crawler." August Bebel, who succeeded Wilhelm Liebknecht as the leader of the Marxist German Social Democracy after the death in a duel in 1863 of Ferdinand Lassalle, the conservative Jewish leader of the first German Socialist Party and the nationalist supporter of Bismarck's program for a united German Reich, visited Marx in London a few years before the death in voluntary exile of the latter and inquired from Marx in eager anticipation when the unfinished torso of *Das Kapital*, with all of its glaring inconsistencies and economic fallacies, would be completed, only to have Marx scream at him in helpless alcoholic irritation: "Nobody could possibly want that more than I do!" Of course, in addition to the permanent shock of Bakunin's "operation demolition," Marx had never really recovered from an event a few years earlier, namely, that terrible occasion when his illiterate Hessian maid servant gave birth to his illegitimate son on the same day that his high-born Prussian wife, Jenny von Westphalen-Marx, gave birth to his legitimate daughter. The illegitimate son, incidentally, became a revisionist Marxist and was active in the English trade union movement until the time of his death in 1929.

The revolutionary party led by Marx until his death in 1883 was hopelessly nihilistic and terroristic, but cooler counsel among his disciples prevailed during the decades that followed, so that what had finally emerged, before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, namely, Marxist revisionism, was actually a safe and sane evolutionary approach to socialist ultimate goals along the same lines as the Fabian socialist movement of George Bernard Shaw and of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Marxist revisionism was also the slogan of the Russian Social Democratic Party formally called into existence by Georgi Plekhanov in 1892, although Marx himself, who as a Jew had always hated the Russian anti-Jewish tradition and who had said that Russia was the last country on earth where Marxist ideas would prevail, had always discouraged the idea of organizing a Russian Marxist party down to the time of his death in 1883. There was, however, a reincarnation of Marx-the-beast in

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin (1870-1924), and he turned out to be the ultimate spoiler of the later civilized trend in what had been a doctrine of ultimate barbarism in the pristine program of Karl Marx himself. Incidentally, the fact that Marx, not Friedrich Engels, was the real Satan of Marxism is indicated clearly enough by the fact that the elderly Engels during the 1890's, in the absence of Marx himself, had no difficulty coming to terms with Marxist revisionism, something that Marx himself always had refused to consider. Marx and Lenin detested the idea of a Marxist victory through the coming ascendancy of a Marxist majority or coalition-governing plurality in equal measure; they both loved the idea of totalitarian dictatorial power based on bullets, and not some benevolent utopian socialist regime based upon ballots. Although Lenin's evil faction of professionally criminal terrorists remained a tiny minority within the Russian Marxist movement down to his own return from voluntary exile to Finland Station in Petrograd in April 1917, he had already, because of his dialectical skill, managed as early as 1903 to win a majority vote against Plekhanov in a central committee meeting, and from that year on seized for his faction the propaganda term *Bolshevism* and at the same time managed to stick successfully his opponents with the propaganda label *Menshevism*, with the former term meaning majority and the latter term minority. The following year in 1904 Lenin published his definitive program, *Shto Dyelat?* (What Is To Be Done?). Like his master Marx, Lenin was a hopeless plagiarist and he borrowed his program title from the brilliant best-selling novel of the Russian disciple of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Richard Wagner, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, one of the five greatest Russian novelists of all time along with Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, and Turgenyev. The message in Lenin's program was clear enough and it would have been as much of a delight to Marx as it would have been an abomination to Plato: to hell with voting and majorities, what we mean to create is a small and compact revolutionary elite who understand how to use modern military technology along with unlimited terror to impose their will over the stupid Christian masses of Russia. Now since the Jews of the *Kresy* (areas of Poland annexed by Russia after 1772 where most Jews, except for a few wealthy ones, were compelled during the era of the late Romanov rulers to reside) had formally launched their *Kramola* (hellish terror) campaign for the destruction of Tsarist Russia in 1879, the year before the U.S.A. *B'nai B'rith* established its elite anti-Russian revolutionary branch in Berlin, it went without saying that not less than 80% of Lenin's recruits for the new *Untermensch* elite were either Jewish professional criminals or Jewish revolutionaries. This bothered young Stalin (1879-1953), the former anti-Jewish Georgian nationalist who as

late as 1912 was complaining to Lenin that we have "too many Abramoviches" in the Bolshevist faction, but it did not bother Lenin, who had a maternal Jewish grandmother and on top of that was one-half Mongolian-Tartar descent. Both Lenin and Stalin hated Russians, but Lenin did not share Stalin's proverbial hatred of Jews. When Stalin's first wife, a lovely Georgian, died (Stalin's otherwise rugged father had died from alcoholism at the age of 40), Stalin declared proudly and without tears that he never again would have to face the wasteful luxury and obligation of loving another human being. And so it turned out to be. Although the family of Stalin's second wife, a lovely Russian girl from Saint Petersburg, was more than generous in sending packages to Stalin in the Arctic region of Siberia after the election of the Fourth Duma (Russian Parliament according to the 1905 Constitution), Stalin, after he destroyed her, also destroyed all of her numerous relatives one by one as a cat plays with mice, and Stalin later explained that he only married his Jewish third wife, the sister of Commissar and Politburo member Lazar Kaganovich, who supervised the genociding of millions of so-called recalcitrant Ukrainian peasants during the so-called Stalin First Five Year Plan of 1928–1933, because he liked to have some woman around his Kremlin private apartment to torture during his idle spare moments.

After this same Stalin violated his voluntary 1939 agreement with Hitler in every possible way following Hitler's surprising May 1940 victory over France, including the seizure of Rumanian territory beyond the agreed-upon demarcation line between NSDAP and CPSU spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, the promotion of a violent anti-German *putsch* in Yugoslavia which was far to the west of that same line, and the promotion throughout German-occupied Europe of espionage, sabotage and anti-Hitler revolutionary propaganda, while at the same time refusing to discuss or negotiate on Hitler's moderate November 1940 terms for a new agreement, had finally goaded Hitler into the preventive war of June 22, 1941, which even Bismarck, had he been alive, and although he was the proverbial public opponent of all preventive wars, would have supported because it was Hitler's only alternative to unconditional submission to the Churchill-FDR Leviathan pressure from the West and the Soviet pressure from the East, the drunken English dictator Churchill, with traditional *habeas corpus* suspended for the duration in England since 1940, described Stalin publicly in the House of Commons as "so wise a man and so great a ruler!" The same Churchill had frequently described the same Stalin a few years earlier as "the Bloody Baboon of Bolshevism!," and as recently as four years earlier Churchill had refused at a public reception to shake hands with

the Ambassador of the Spanish Republic, proclaiming in a loud voice for all attending dignitaries to hear that the man's hands were covered with blood because he was nothing more nor less than Stalin's stooge.

The drunken Churchill imagined that he had succeeded in flattering Stalin in his Commons speech, so he followed that up with a fawning personal letter that Stalin never bothered to answer. In reply to the official query of the English Ambassador in Moscow, Stalin commented succinctly and rudely that nothing in Churchill's letter deserved a reply, and the same Stalin at the Russian Compound in Teheran in 1943 jumped all over FDR when the dying U.S.A. chief-executive foolishly suggested to Stalin that Hitler was insane. Stalin roared at FDR: "You idiot, could an insane man have come within a hare's breath of destroying once and for all a great leader like me? At one point I was even contemplating, because I knew Hitler liked me well enough personally, to volunteer to become Hitler's NSDAP Gauleiter in ministering to the needs of the Russian masses who had suffered horribly from the many purges I had inflicted upon them!" Concerning Churchill, Stalin had never forgiven his responsibility for the massacre of unarmed Georgian and Azerbaijani civilians at Baku, the chief Russian oil center, in 1920, just as Mahatma Gandhi down to his own death in 1948 never forgave Churchill his public defense in Commons of the senseless slaughter of hordes of peaceful Hindu demonstrators at Amritsar in 1919.

How different the brutal fiends Churchill, FDR, and Stalin were from Hitler. When Hitler's Minister for Propaganda Josef Goebbels showed up at Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg, East Prussia in August 1941 and told Hitler that he was planning a German-language edition of the FDR sterilization plan for Germany published in the pre-Pearl Harbor book in New Jersey of the New York City Jew Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!*,—a book, incidentally, which was enthusiastically reviewed across U.S.A. from the San Francisco *Chronicle* to the New York City *PM*—Hitler vetoed the Goebbels plan at once and he explained that he was intensely proud of his German servicemen who were not only fighting with courage but who also were fighting like professional gentlemen without hatred. Hitler knew the ultimate truth of Plato's adage that the end is determined by the means, and he explained to Goebbels that the final victory of Germany would make no sense if meanwhile Germans had descended to the gangster barbarian level of hate-crazed U.S.A. or English servicemen, or to the Mongolian-style barbarian robots of Stalin. Hitler, who had asked his Company Commander Captain Fritz Wiedemann not to take him out of the line at the Somme in 1916 although he had been severely wounded six times that same day,

also explained to Goebbels, the proverbial civilian feather-merchant, that cool professional soldiers fighting according to honorable codes are more efficient than hate-crazed maniacs who are not soldiers in the true sense merely because they have been thrust into uniform. Indeed, does any military expert doubt today that, had it not been for the ten thousand anti-Hitler elite traitors in German Intelligence, the German Reichsbank, the German General Staff, and the German Foreign Office, the sane professional German soldiers, with or without the Italians, Croats, Hungarians, Finns, and Japanese, could have defeated soundly the combined force of the crazed maniacs, driven crazy by billions of dollars spent on Jewish directed propaganda, of the U.S.A., UK, and USSR? The civilian Goebbels once asked his assistant Wilfred von Oven, the veteran of three years of combat in Spain and three years of combat after 1939 in other parts of Europe, what was so difficult about being killed instantly in combat? Oven dryly responded to Goebbels that the soldier taking a fatal hit required on the average one hour to die to the accompaniment of terrible suffering. This struck home because Goebbels dreaded even an ordinary dental appointment.

The long and the short of the 1917 Soviet Russian Revolution is that it was an unprecedented disaster for all mankind. Had it not been for the pro-Bolshevik policies of Woody Wilson, FDR, and the *epigoni* of FDR, the disaster would long since have been eliminated. Lenin could not have succeeded in the first place had not Wilson, over the indignant protests of U.S.A. Ambassador to Russia Mr. Francis of Chicago, shipped tens of thousands of pro-Bolshevik New York City Jews to Russia during the Kerensky Provisional Government after March 1917, although ordinary Americans were not allowed to travel during wartime, and by all odds FDR, who jumped from U.S.A. non-recognition to a *de facto* secret alliance with Stalin in the one year 1933, a fact confirmed for me personally with overwhelming evidence by the late William C. Bullitt, author of the anti-FDR 1943 book *The Great Globe Itself*, but FDR's first U.S.A. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1933 to 1936, this same FDR was by all odds the greatest salesman of Bolshevism that the world has ever seen, including Marx himself, Lenin, and Stalin, and no rational and informed person can deny that the U.S.A. Jewish public media during the nearly forty years since FDR's death have allowed only servile supporters of FDR's policies to become U.S.A. presidents, with far and away the worst one being the current White House incumbent, Ronald Wilson Reagan. Only the final elimination of the U.S.A. global empire founded by Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt in the years from 1898 to 1901 can save the contemporary world from the threat of the permanent global triumph of

Bolshevism. Without perpetual U.S.A. support behind the screen of Truman's phoney Cold War, the threat of global Bolshevism would fade away rapidly from the real historical world, albeit its atrocities which, thanks to U.S.A., have already produced in the neighborhood of 150 million violent deaths, neither could nor should ever be forgotten. Although Robert Jackson, the U.S.A. Supreme Court justice, aspiring to be Chief Justice, who both prosecuted and persecuted the heroic Hermann Goering and the other Nuernberg defendants at the Main Nuernberg Trial of 1945-46, declared in a public pro-FDR speech at Jamestown, New York in 1934 that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia of 1917 constituted a giant step forward for mankind, that same revolution was in reality supremely evil.

This brings us to the best of the five revolutions in particular, namely, the German national revolution of 1933, and in general to a few of the magnificent contributions to world civilization rendered by Germany since the birth of Bismarck on April 1, 1815. Does any informed person doubt any longer today that Bolshevism by 1937 would have spread from the Siberian Pacific coast to the Atlantic coast of Portugal had it not been for the heading off of the Bolshevist threat in Germany and the amazing triumph of Hitler by legal and constitutional means on January 30, 1933? In his speech to the German nation on July 20, 1944, after evil reactionary German assassins had failed that same day to eliminate him, Hitler, the lifelong friend of private initiative, anti-inflationary policies, and economic free enterprise, reminded all of his listeners that the 1919 Weimar Constitution written by the German-Jewish patriot Dr. Hugo Preuss was still in effect as Germany's fundamental law, since Hitler had always stood for the policy of calling a German constitutional convention only after the German national crisis created by Woody Wilson in 1918 had been surpassed, and, thanks to Wilson's chief disciple, FDR, to whom Wilson had always been attracted physically, describing FDR as that "most handsome Greek god" at the Democrat Baltimore convention of 1912, when FDR, still free of polio, had just turned thirty, Hitler, despite valiant efforts, had by 1944 and eleven years in power still not been able to eliminate the U.S.A.-induced German national crisis, and, indeed, with the successful Anglo-American second front in France and the successful June 22, 1944, Bolshevik Vitebsk-sector offensive, the skies were once again growing as uncomfortably dark over Germany as they had been on November 9, 1918, the day at German Supreme Military Headquarters at Spa, Belgium, when an ungrateful Hindenburg kidnapped his startled sovereign, Bill II, and shoved him by force over the border into Holland instead of letting him return to Germany. When the Kaiser asked Hindenburg about the

oath that he had sworn as a young cadet in 1866 before the decisive battle for control over Germany against Austria at Koeniggraetz, Bohemia, Field Marshal Hindenburg replied insolently, in a style that would have been typical of any English or U.S.A. politician, that it was no longer convenient for him to be mindful of any such oath. Hitler faced the same U.S.A.-style unlimited moral relativism in the German treason elite secret opposition of 1944, and that is why he appealed to his loyal German people over their heads and he reminded them also that he was still their legal and constitutional representative, an argument which was accepted by the overwhelming majority according to secret reports.

The long and the short of it is that one superb German 19th century patriot alone, Bismarck, a disciple of the ideals of romanticism and of the romantic nationalism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Ernst Moritz Arndt, had that childlike and naive faith (Nietzsche once remarked cogently that maturity is to reacquire the seriousness of a child at play) that made it possible for him in practical and limited secret alliance with the great Jewish banking house of Rothschild at Frankfurt, Main, to consolidate Frederick-Barbarossa-style once again the traditional national unity of Germany despite the recent heroic failure of the parliamentary German nationalists to do so during the mighty revolution and upheaval of 1848–1851 (the latter being the date of the Dresden Conference presided over by the Austrian reactionary Schwarzenberg who had restored the reactionary, particularistic post-1815 system of Clemens von Metternich with the diplomatic and military aid of Palmerston in England and Tsar Nicholas I in Russia.) Bismarck achieved the laudable earlier goal of the forty-eighters in 1871 by an adroit combination of secret diplomacy, defiance of Prussian parliamentary public opinion, and strictly limited and effective military campaigns. The story of the three wars of German reunification between 1864 and 1871 has been told well so often that there is no point in repeating that story here.

More important is the fundamental question that would have intrigued Plato, namely, what were truly Bismarck's instrumental objectives and his ultimate goals? Firstly, Bismarck believed in a united Germany under the rule of law with a federal political system like U.S.A. rather than a unitary state system like England, France, or Italy, and with universal manhood suffrage for German citizens, including those of Danish or Polish extraction. Secondly, Bismarck, who admired the ideals of Italy's Mazzini, as well as Germany's Arndt and France's Rousseau, was a good European in the sense developed by Herder and best articulated by Nietzsche, namely, a European who was non-prejudicial in his judgment of the ethnic components in a pluralistic Europe picturesquely

described by Herder as a beautiful garden with many distinctly beautiful varieties of flowers. Had Marx been a gardener, he would simply have planted the whole place with marigolds, whereas the more civilized Herder with a maturely developed aesthetic sense would have planted several score varieties of shrubs and flowers. Thirdly, Bismarck was a Francophile who made heroic efforts to appease France after the 1871 Treaty of Frankfurt, Main which terminated the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, and he was within an ace in 1885 of consolidating a new friendship with the France of Premier Jules Ferry when unexpectedly heavy losses inflicted on the French military forces by the North Vietnamese who were backed up by China forced Ferry from power and played into the hands of Paul Deroulede, head of the viciously chauvinistic French military lobby, The League of Patriots. Although Bismarck did not quite succeed in consolidating Europe in the league of preponderant states dreamed about by both Fenelon of France and Kant of Germany in the 18th century, his very nearly successful effort deserves at the least our respect.

Although Bismarck got along well with none of the five Hohenzollern Prussian sovereigns who ruled during his lifetime, namely, Frederick William III (reigned 1797-1840), Frederick William IV (1840-1861), William I (1861-1888), Frederick III (1888), and William II (1888-1918), and albeit the 29-year-old William II had no choice in March 1890 other than to sack Bismarck in order to prevent the increasingly irascible elderly man of seventy-five from scuttling the constitution he had created and attacking the moderate revisionist Marxists, the Kaiser and Bismarck did become generally reconciled five years later in 1895 after the Berlin City Council and even the Imperial German Reichstag refused by majority votes to congratulate Bismarck officially on his 80th birthday because there were aspects of his domestic policies after 1871 with which some of the parties, such as the Progressives, Center Party, and Social Democratic Party, had disagreed. So far as the Kaiser is concerned, I agree with Harvard University's Sidney Bradshaw Fay who knew him well personally during the years that he was an outstanding graduate student in the pre-1914 era at the University of Berlin, namely, that he was personally charming, a hard worker, highly intelligent, very charismatic, and, above all, an honest and sincere German Christian patriot.

The great German nationalist, Hans Grimm, author of the outstanding and excellent epic German novel, *Volk ohne Raum*, although he never joined Hitler's NSDAP and actually voted against Hitler in 1934 on the issue of combining the offices of Reich Chancellor and President (why have a twin-executive?)

following the death of President Hindenburg, observed in his justly famous 1954 book on Hitler, *Warum, Woher, aber auch Wohin?* (Why, for What, in What Direction?) that Hitler was a better leader than even the German people or any other people had ever observed. I also fully accept that verdict.

Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare

FACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

WALTER N. SANNING

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

The Soviet scorched-earth policy has many facets: Military, economic, and so on. In *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* I touched only on those which are of importance in connection with the demographic changes of Eastern European Jewry. Here I want to emphasize the economic side of a little-known portion of the Second World War. However, in order to present the whole picture I must refer to portions of the subject which have already been covered in *The Dissolution*. Space allows only the most important references to those findings, and anybody who wishes to know more about this is advised to check *The Dissolution*.

The German-Soviet Non-Agression Treaty of 23 August 1939 provided for the following territorial divisions: Estonia and Latvia would fall into the Soviet sphere of interest while Lithuania would fall into the German. From Lithuania the line of demarcation would run toward East Prussia, from there along the Narew, Vistula, and San rivers toward the Carpathian mountains[1] (Map 1). After the Polish defeat, the Soviet government immediately exerted heavy pressure on Germany for a revision of the treaty. In order to maintain peace, Hitler agreed in the second treaty, the so-called Border and Friendship Agreement of 28 September 1939, that Germany would relinquish its interest in most of Lithuania in exchange for the area between the Vistula and the Bug rivers with

a population of about 3.5 million, including more than 300,000 Jews.[2] This area had been occupied by the Soviets for only a few days, but the Red Army had taken the area's food supplies and livestock with it as it departed. As a result the Germans actually had to *bring in* large quantities of food to forestall starvation in this agricultural area.[3] This episode should have been a lesson to Germany. It was not.

While Germany was engaged in the Western Campaign from 10 May until 24 June, 1940 the Soviet Union occupied the entirety of Lithuania between 16 and 22 June following the ultimatum of 15 June—that is, including even that portion which was to remain within the German sphere of interest according to the treaty. This occupation constituted not only a gross violation of the two Soviet-German treaties but also of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of Mutual Assistance (10 October 1939). The German government was neither consulted nor informed of this Soviet action as required under the treaty provisions.[4] The northern Bukovina region of Rumania, which was outside the agreed-upon Soviet sphere of interest, was similarly appropriated by the Soviets, although in this case the Soviets pressured Germany into giving its "consent" within an ultimative time period of 24 hours before occupation (Map 2). I mention these developments only because they demonstrate the determination with which Russia removed German strategic advantages while improving her own. They also show that Germany had no definite military objectives against the Soviet Union because otherwise it is inconceivable that she would have tolerated Soviet usurpation of the strategically invaluable Lithuanian gateway to Leningrad and Moscow.

Scorched Earth

Faced with a massive build-up of Soviet military strength across the line of demarcation, concerned by the Soviet breach of the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact and forewarned by new and enormous Soviet demands for geographic concessions in Europe, Germany invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. The Soviets immediately began to execute German prisoners-of-war right after capture or a short interrogation. Even seriously wounded soldiers were not spared. Numerous high level orders to this effect are on record. The West German Military History Research Institute (Militaergeschichtliche Forschungsamt), which is not known for its pro-German bias, puts the percentage of captured German soldiers who died while in Soviet captivity in the years 1941–1942 at 90-95 percent.[5a] Within days after hostilities began, the Kremlin's Central Committee issued orders to the effect that only scorched earth be left to the enemy. Everything of value was

ordered to be destroyed, regardless of the needs of the civilian population left behind. For this purpose special demolition battalions were sent into action. The above-mentioned Military Research Institute commented further: "From the very beginning of the war Stalin and the leadership of the Soviet Union indicated through these measures that as far as they were concerned the armed conflict with Germany was of an entirely different character than the historical 'European national wars'."[5b]

The measures taken by the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1942 aimed not only at furthering the Soviet war effort, but also at harming the German enemy even at the cost of huge losses of life among Soviet civilians. The Soviet *scorched-earth strategy* included the deportation of millions of men, women and children; the resettlement and re-establishment of thousands of factories; the withdrawal of almost the entire railway rolling stock; the annihilation of raw material depots; the removal of most of the agricultural machinery, cattle and grain stocks; the systematic destruction, burning and blowing up of the immovable infrastructure, inventories of all kinds, factory buildings, mines, residential areas, public buildings, public records, and even cultural monuments; and the intentional starvation of the civilian population which remained behind to face German occupation. It was basically a policy which unscrupulously used the civilian population as a strategic pawn. The extent and timing of this policy action is confirmed by so many sources that no real difference of opinion exists in this regard. What is strange is how scantily it has been covered so far in the scholarly literature. Until now, this policy has not been analyzed to the extent it deserves with an eye to identifying the party responsible for the conflict, nor to appreciating the German difficulties in prosecuting a war along established civilized lines, nor to assessing the claims of German brutality in Russia, nor to sizing up the numerical potential of the alleged German genocide of Soviet Jews, or indeed, of the Soviet Slavs.

Long before the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict, Stalin had begun to prepare for a future war in Europe when he began to develop heavy industry in the Urals and Western Siberia starting with the first Five-Year Plan which commenced in 1928. His plans were for the long run. In the early 1930s he had already announced his determination to overtake the most advanced industrialized countries with respect to industrial and military capacity not later than 1941[6]—the year when, according to numerous admissions of Soviet leaders, including Stalin's son, the Red Army would strike Germany late that summer.[7] With the help of thousands of engineers and experts from Europe and North America, the core of the Soviet armaments industry was established in the region

where Europe meets Asia. Millions of Soviet citizens were also mercilessly sacrificed in the drive to attain Soviet military supremacy. The Ural industrial region was covered with a far-flung network of power lines and electric-power generation plants. In 1940, this rather underpopulated area, with just four percent of the Soviet population, produced 4 billion kWh of electricity, and the existing capacity allowed for a great expansion.[8] By comparison, the Soviet territory later occupied by Germany—the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories—produced no more than 10 billion kWh before the war even though it accounted for about 40 percent of the Soviet population. In other words, on a per capita basis the electric power output of the Urals region was four times larger. In preparation for the coming conflict, substitute factory building shells were raised all across the southern Urals and western Siberia for the purpose of accepting the machinery from the territory the German enemy might threaten during the anticipated hostilities. A railroad network far out of proportion to the needs of this thinly populated area was vigorously expanded right up to the outbreak of war.[9]

As soon as the Germans crossed the frontier, the Soviets put their *Plan of Economic Mobilization* into action. This plan incorporated the possibility that the enemy might succeed in occupying large sections of the country—as had happened during the First World War. For this reason detailed plans specified the locations to which the dismantled factories should be transported and the successive steps in which the removal was to take place. The interrelationships between the individual enterprises and their dependence on one another were painstakingly taken into account.[10] The carefully executed plan included the removal and evacuation of equipment and people 8-10 days before the retreat of the Red Army, followed by 24 hours of extensive destruction by special demolition squads just prior to the retreat. If necessary, the Soviet troops would put up last-ditch resistance to provide sufficient time for their demolition squads to complete their tasks.

Destination addresses found by the surprised Germans pointed practically always in the direction of the Ural industrial region, specifically to the area encompassed by Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Ufa, Chkalov, and Magnitogorsk. This was the region where the factory shells had been built years before the war and where the equipment dismantled in the factories of the western Soviet Union was reassembled.[11]

In just the first three months after the outbreak of war more than 1360 large industrial enterprises were transplanted and the movable equipment of thousands of collective farms was transported to the interior. It seems that owing to the brutal regimentation of the miserable deportees the evacuated enter-

prises rose in an unbelievably short time at their new locations: it took just three to four weeks to reassemble large factories and enterprises. The workers had to labor 12 to 14 hours a day, seven days a week. Within three to four months Soviet production had again reached pre-war levels.[12]

The Soviet feat was possible only because millions of trained workers, managers, engineers and specialists had been transported to those areas along with their factories. As early as February 1940, German intelligence had reported the systematic deportation of the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish population from the western Ukraine.[13] In June 1940, up to one milllion Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland along with many hundreds of thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia. Then, a few weeks before 22 June 1941, mass deportations of the civilian populations along the entire frontier with Germany, Hungary, and Rumania took place. The Soviets, informed by their own spies, Allied intelligence, and German traitors, lost no time in removing those civilians who were most critically needed in the Ural armaments centers.[14]

Soviet historians admitted years ago that the Soviet Union had laid plans long before the war to put the entire Soviet railroad system on a war footing overnight. The purpose was to prevent the Gemans from getting hold of the strategic rolling equipment. The Soviet success in this endeavor was almost total: Despite the huge number of rail cars, locomotives, and special transportation equipment in the frontier areas, and the deployment of troops and war materials for the gigantic Soviet military build-up in preparation for an attack on central Europe, most of the rolling stock was removed in time before the Germans struck in a lightning preventive action on 22 June 1941. During the first five weeks, when German armies pushed hundreds of miles into the Soviet interior, only 577 locomotives, 270 passenger cars and 21,947 rail freight cars were captured. In relative terms, this amounted to just 2.3, 0.8 and 2.5 percent respectively.[15]

During the first few months of the war one million railroad cars loaded with industrial equipment, raw materials, and people departed from the frontline areas.[16] I won't delve into specifics of the scale of the Soviet program of deporting the civilian population. This I have done in some detail in *The Dissolution.* Suffice it here to note that before the war upward of 90 million people were living in the Soviet areas conquered by Germany during the Second World War. The Soviets deported anywhere between 25 and 30 million of them. They concentrated their deportation efforts on specific groups. Thus, they preferred the urban to the rural population, the skilled to the unskilled, and large educated minorities (Jews and Russians in the Ukraine, White Russia, and

in the Baltic countries) to the more hostile native population. Because the Soviets had begun their deportation program long before the outbreak of the war and because the western frontier areas were generally not densely populated, the Soviet cities which fell ito German hands during the first few days and weeks of the war were greatly depopulated—up to 90 percent in some cases and over 50 percent on the average. The cities tended to show greater deportation percentages if they were located in the Ukraine or White Russia, rather than in the Baltic countries; if they were located near the western frontier rather than further east; and if they had large educated minorities than if the native population predominated.[17]

In summary, the scorched-earth policy was extremely well geared to Soviet objectives. A huge armaments program had been initiated 13 years before 1941 and long before Adolf Hitler was in sight as a serious contender for German leadership. Extensive investments had been made in a rather thinly populated and underdeveloped area in order to develop its transportation facilities, power stations and network, and heavy industry. Last but not least, substitute factories had been systematically erected, ready to accept the industrial equipment from the more developed Soviet areas to the west should an unfavorable course of the war necessitate their removal to safer areas. What was lacking, however, was the social infrastructure, such as housing and hospitals, to accommodate the many millions of civilians deported there between 1940 and 1941. As a result, 15-20 million civilians died of epidemics, hunger, overwork, lack of housing, lack of clothing and the brutal Siberian winter.

The Economic Breakdown in the Occupied Eastern Territories

The picture presenting itself to the advancing German troops was one of despair. Of the railroad system only the tracks remained. The rolling stock wàs gone. Water works and power stations were destroyed. In order to organize the production of war-essential raw materials and mineral oil products, the Germans created the so-called Economic Staff East. However, the Soviet strategy of scorching the earth very quickly forced the Economic Staff to reactivate all productive facilities of any kind. Even the production of consumer goods was included in its program, because domestic industry was incapable of resuming production on its own following the almost total destruction and dismantling by the Soviets and the deportation of most of the managerial personnel and technical specialists.

Of the original power generation capacity of 2.57 million kW in the Occupied Eastern Territories—which was equivalent to

Table 1
Power Generation Capacity in the Occupied Eastern Territories
(1,000 kW)

	Total	RK Ukraine (incl. Military Area South)	RK Ostland	Military Area North and Center
Before the war	2570 (100%)	2200 (100%)	270 (100%)	100 (100%)
After Soviet retreat	300 (12%)	145 (7%)	135 (50%)	20 (20%)
March 1943	630 (24%)	350 (16%)	240 (90%)	40 (40%)

Source: *Wirtschaftsgroessenordnungen fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260).

roughly one-fourth of total prewar Soviet generating capacity—less then one-eighth (300,000 kW) was found to be intact. Soviet demolition efforts were so thorough that until the end of March 1943, capacity could be increased to not more than 630,000 kW, which was still only one-quarter of the prewar level.[18] (See Table 1.) And yet, regional differences were quite obvious. In the Reichskommissariat (RK) Ostland (Baltic countries and White Russia) about half of the original capacity of 270,000 kW was found to be intact and until the end of March 1943 almost 90 percent of the former capacity was returned to operation. But in the Ukraine only 7 percent (145,000 kW) of the original power- generation capacity of 2.2 million kW was still operational. The thoroughness of the Bolsheviks is shown by the fact that until the end of March 1943, not more than 350,000 kW were usable again. This was just 16 percent of prewar capacity. These figures refer only to available capacities. In practice, these were rarely operated fully because of the growing partisan menace and an almost total lack of coal supplies. Obviously, industrial production had been dealt a fatal blow. As mentioned already, electric power generation before the war amounted to 10 billion kWh annually in the Occupied Eastern Territories. The German administration succeeded in producing only 750 million kWh from the time of occupation until the end of 1942. For the year 1943 the planned increase to 1.4 billion kWh—which would still have been 86 percent *below* pre-war levels—was never attained as only 1 billion kWh were actually produced.[19] It is significant that the planned increases in manufacturing and mining production for the year 1943 were realized in only a few cases. Actual production of essential raw materials or energy supplies fell far short of stated goals despite the high priority attached to redeveloping the Ukrainian economy.

Table 2

Industrial Production in the Occupied Eastern Territories from the Time of Occupation until the End of 1943

Category	Unit	Production before Occupation	Production 1941–1943 in percent of pre-war production			Plan fulfilment in the year 1943
			until end of 1942	in 1943	average until year-end 1943	
Electricity	bill. kWh	10.0	7.5%	10.0%	8.8%	71%
Coal	mill. tons	85.0 (1940)	2.1%	2.7%	2.4%	26%
Iron ore	mill. tons	16.5 (1938)	–.–	2.3%	1.2%	10%
Crude steel	mill. tons	12.0 (1940)	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	2%
Cement	mill. tons	2.0 (1940)	15.0%	8.2%	11.6%	31%
Lignite	mill. tons	0.5 (1938)	56.0%	90.0%	73.0%	23%
Peat	mill. tons	8.0 (1938)	56.0%	35.1%	45.6%	51%
Manganese ore	mill. tons	1.4 (1938)	45.9%	81.4%	63.6%	80%
Shale	mill. tons	1.7 (1939)	50.6%	76.2%	63.5%	68%
Shale oil	1000 tons	160.0 (1939)	33.8%	67.3%	50.5%	82%
Petroleum*	1000 tons	370.0 (1938)	67.6%	21.9%	44.7%	31%
Phosphate rock	1000 tons	175.0 (1940)	7.6%	47.9%	27.8%	98%
Mercury	tons	300.0	7.0%	4.0%	5.5%	12%

*Including mineral oil production of Drohobycz (Galicia/General Government Poland)

Sources: *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 20 November 1944, Berlin: Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260)

Wirtschaftsgroessenordnungen fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete, 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260)

The effects of the systematic destruction by the Soviets on industrial production are shown in **Table 2.** The basic industrial structure—coal, iron ore, crude steel, electricity, and cement—was for all practical purposes totally destroyed. Compared with pre-war levels, coal mining averaged 2.4 percent, iron ore production 1.2 percent, crude steel production nothing, electricity 8.8 percent, and cement production 11.6 percent!

Another indication of the sorry state of the economy in German-occupied Russia was the size of industrial manpower. In 1940, Soviet blue- and white-collar workers numbered 31.2 million.[20] Even if their proportionate share in the regions later occupied by Germany was less than the Soviet average, it is reasonable to assume that there was a total of at least 10 million blue- and white-collar workers in these areas before the war. At the end of 1942, employment in industry (excluding the food industry) totalled only 750,000. In the purely industrial enterprises, that is, excluding the handicrafts, the number of employees was just

Table 3

Number of Employees in Industry (excl. food)
in the Occupied Eastern Territories—End of 1942

Area	Employees	(percent)
Baltic countries (of RK Ostland)	140,000	(24%)
White Russia (General District)	25,000	
Military Area North	14,475	
Military Area Center	40,000	(76%)
RK Ukraine	150,000	
Military Area South	219,893	
Total	600,000	(100%)

Source: *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete, 20 November 1944, Military Archives Freiburg/Germany, Bestand RW 31/260, p. 4.

600,000 (**Table 3**). Six hundred thousand in an area which prior to the war had a population of perhaps 75 million! Even if we add the unknown number of people employed in the food industry, it is obvious that *industrial employment under German administration was equivalent to one-tenth of prewar levels* at most. To make matters worse, the productivity of this remnant manpower was far below prewar standards. It is noteworthy that although the Baltic countries (the largest of which, Lithuania, had very little industry) accounted for only 8 percent of the prewar population of the Occupied Eastern Territories, they nevertheless furnished one-quarter of the industrial manpower under German administration (**Table 3**).

Soviet deportations reduced skilled personnel to such an extent that not enough local managerial or technical experts could be found in the Occupied Eastern Territories for even the tiny number of remaining industrial employees. The Germans were forced to bring in about 10,000 civilian specialists from the Reich in order to overcome the most severe personnel shortages.[21] On the basis of available statistics I estimate that the Soviets deported at least 70 percent of the workers prior to German occupation. This means that the number of workers available to the German administration (generally lesser-skilled) was about 2 to 3 million. Inasmuch as not more than a million could be put back to work despite the enormous need for every kind of production, unemployment assumed huge proportions (50-70 percent) in the midst of a vociferous demand for goods of any kind.

According to Soviet Prof. Telpuchowski, the areas occupied by the Germans until November 1941 accounted for 63 percent of the coal, 68 percent of pig iron, 58 percent of the steel, 60 percent of the aluminum, 38 percent of grains and 84 percent of the sugar produced in the entire Soviet Union before the war.[22] The documents of the German Economic Staff East show essentially very similar magnitudes. The Soviets managed to make all this unavailable to the German enemy. The means employed were ruthless dismantling, demolition, fire, sabotage and deportation. Instead of adding to Germany's military strength, these areas became a tremendous drain on her already strained industrial capacity.

Hunger

As for the conquered raw material supplies, the following secret report of the German Economic Staff for the period 1–10 October 1941, provides a vivid description of the situation:

> Few supplies of any size have been found so that care will have to be taken during the hostilities . . . It appears that all raw material stocks were either systematically removed from the areas conquered so far or made unusable. Thus, the small quantities found until now are not a significant help in relieving the raw material needs of the Reich. . . . The factories have not been supplied with raw materials for some time.[23]

The same situation applied in the case of food, especially grains. An interdepartmental proposal of the Economic Staff dated 3 October 1941 on the supplies needed for Russian cities even went so far as to suggest that the remaining larger cities not yet in German hands should be cut off and encircled, and that their capitulation should not be accepted. This, of course, was militarily quite out of the question, but it shows the desperation with which the German authorities of the conquered areas viewed the effects of the Soviet strategy of leaving it up to the occupying armies to feed millions of starving Soviet citizens! The report continued:

> It has been our experience that the Russians remove or destroy systematically all of the food supplies before retreating. The urban population of the conquered cities thus will either have to be fed by the Wehrmacht or it will have to starve. Obviously, by forcing us to provide additional food to the Russian population, the Russian leadership intends to worsen the already difficult food situation of the German Reich through a reduction of the domestic German food supply. As a matter of fact, the present food situation permits us to feed the Russian urban population from our own stocks only if we reduce the supplies to the Army or if we lower the rations at home.[24]

During the very early period of the war, Soviet destruction in the agricultural sector was confined to the machine and tractor stations. As a rule, these stations were found empty and the machines and vehicles left behind had been made unusable. At first, cattle stocks were relatively intact. But this changed rapidly during the following weeks. As the war progressed from west to east, almost no cattle, grain and gasoline supplies were found. The Luftwaffe and prisoners of war reported that the Soviets busily harvested the fields as they retreated. After the Ukraine was liberated, it became obvious that the food situation would slowly but surely become catastrophic. In many cases even seed grains had to be distributed to help the starving Ukrainians. This, in turn, reduced the acreage that could be planted at a time when the lack of tractors, gasoline, and draft horses had already made its negative effects felt. It is estimated that the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories produced 43 million tons of grain under Soviet rule in 1940. Under German administration the recorded harvest in 1941 was not more than 13 million tons. One reason for this small harvest was the fact that the German drive into Russia was swiftest in the northern and center sections of the theater of war, thus enabling the Soviets to take with them or destroy considerable parts of the harvest in the Ukraine. In 1942 even less was harvested, only 11.7 million tons. According to Dallin, the German administration succeeded in seeding not more than three quarters of the prewar acreage. Fertilizer was practically unavailable and the yield per acre was correspondingly lower in 1942. Compared to the average yields per hectare of approximately 2200 pounds (14 bushels/acre) in the Ukraine in the late 1930s, the Germans managed to obtain just 1500 pounds (10 bushels/acre).[25] Furthermore, the Soviet scorched earth policy now began to show its full effects: The use of seed grains to relieve the worst hunger in the cities, the increasing partisan menace and the dearth of personnel and machinery reduced the harvest potential drastically.

German supervisory personnel in the countryside were much too thinly spread to enforce effectively a strict delivery of agricultural products. To be sure, at the expense of the goodwill and the pro-German attitude of the peasant population, it was possible to locate and requisition some additional agricultural produce for the cities, but, judging by the misery in the cities, this was by far not rigorous enough. Of course, the Germans periodically tried to "comb through" the countryside to find these hoarded stocks but their efforts were marked with little success. Theretreating Red Army had removed the entire organization necessary to collect and distribute the harvest of the collectivized agriculture system, and the German administration was forced to

set up its own collection and distribution system for agricultural products—not an easy task considering the harrowing wartime conditions. Not only was time much too short and wartime conditions simply too severe to organize such an administration successfully, but the brutality with which the Bolsheviks had enforced their claims on agricultural production was simply not in keeping with the German mentality or German policy which—contrary to Allied and Soviet propaganda—aimed at finding a basis of mutual understanding with the liberated Slavic and Baltic populations.

Far from the ruthlessness which supposedly characterized German occupation rule in Russia, the plain fact is that, as a central European nation, the Germans never came to grips with the inhumane concept of total warfare as applied by their Soviet foe. As even Jewish historian Alexander Dallin admits: "Soviet collection (of the harvest) had, in practice, been far more *efficient* (italics added) than the German. As a result, peasants in German-held areas were often able to hide larger stocks than before the war. In all probability concealed reserves remained substantial, . . ."[26] From 1941 until 1943, 15,000 rail cars loaded with agricultural equipment and machines left Germany for the Occupied Eastern Territories under the so-called *Ostackerprogramm* ("Eastern soil program"). This included 7,000 tractors, 20,000 generators, 250,000 steel plows, and 3,000,000 scythes. Furthermore, thousands of bulls, cows, swine, and stallions were sent to those areas for breeding purposes to raise the quality of the livestock. Available statistics indicate that German agricultural assistance between July 1941 and June 1943 amounted to 445 million RM (Reichsmarks).[27]

The net prewar Soviet harvest of 1940 yielded 82 million tons of grain, of which about 30 percent was set aside for seed and feed purposes. Theoretically, the Soviet population thus had available 57 million tons, or a little less than 800 grams daily per person. In practice, of course, it was less, because part of this volume was set aside in reserve in anticipation of the coming war with Germany.[28] Assuming that 30 percent of the recorded harvest of only 13 millions tons under German occupation in 1941 was set aside for seed and feed purposes, only 9 million tons were left for the native population. Of that amount 2 million tons were taken by the German army. The amount requisitioned by the German army was rather moderate indeed. This is shown by the fact that the Red Army used 3¼ million tons of grain in 1940, the last year of peace! While another 350,000 tons were shipped off to Germany, this was offset by the significant but unknown portion of the grain volume sequestered by the German army but used to feed the native urban civilian population.[29] In any case, the civilian population of about

50 million was thus left with only about 7 million tons. On a per capita basis this amounted to less than 400 grams daily (less than one pound)—only half as much as in 1940. Meat and fats were not available as a general rule. But this average does not mean very much. On the one hand, we noted that the harvests probably were considerably larger than German statistics indicate. This means that at least the rural population, which was the majority, was able to enjoy a considerably better and more plentiful diet. Also, many urban dwellers were able to obtain food from the peasants on the illegal, but difficult to control black market. In this way the cities obtained from the peasants some of the food which German authorities were unable to trace. On the other hand, transportation was often an insurmountable problem so that even the minimal supply of food arrived in the cities either late or not at all. Moreover, partisans either destroyed or confiscated large parts of the harvested grain. Finally, German authorities often tried to obtain extra rations for workers in war-essential factories. Of course, this was only possible at the expense of the rest of the population. The fact that German authorities did not even succeed in getting the special rations for the workers in war-essential industries or for those doing heavy manual labor, as they were entitled, shows how serious the situation was.[30] Those urban residents who were either unemployed or did not have anything to trade with the peasants were really in trouble: Starvation was their fate.

To show the desperate food situation in the cities of German-occupied Russia, I will quote from the regular secret reports of the Economic Staff East sent to Berlin:

> *11 November 1941*: The scarcity of food and the lack of even the most essential consumer goods are the main reason why the morale of the Russian and Ukrainian population is becoming more and more depressed . . . Kiev received no grain whatever since its occupation on 19 September 1941 . . . The partisans take food from the civilian population at night and force physically able men to join them. In part, food supplies are being burned down by the partisans. Especially great difficulties exist in the southern area where it is impossible to feed all of the prisoners of war because of their huge numbers. . . . The authorities are constantly at pains to find enough to eat for the prisoners, although gruel and buckwheat are available only in limited quantities. . . . We are very concerned about our ability to feed the urban population in the southern areas.[31]
>
> *8 December 1941*: The food situation in the city of Kharkov is extremely critical. There is almost nothing for the population to eat. Bread is not available.[32]
>
> *22 January 1942*: The regular distribution of food to the urban civilian population in the southern area must be restricted more and more, and this is not likely to change in the foreseeable future.[33]

23 February 1942: The supply of food to the civilian population of the larger cities is so critical that it is cause for the most serious warnings.[33]

1 March 1942: The morale is low because of food problems. . . . In the densely populated Donets area especially no food has been distributed at all to the population. As a result, several thousand people have died of hunger so far. In some cases even highly qualified specialists and professors were among the victims.[33]

5 March 1942: The food situation continues to be very serious and in some cities there is actual starvation. In Pushkin it was discovered that there was a *trade in human flesh* which was offered to the population as pork.[33]

16 March 1942 (Report by the commander of the military rear central areas): In the large cities (the food situation) continues to be unsatisfactory and in Kharkov it is catastrophic. As time goes on it becomes ever more difficult to feed the urban population . . .[33]

3 June 1942: The food situation in the cities grows worse and worse because part of the food supplies collected for the population had to be used for seeding and part of the supplies were destroyed by the partisans.[33]

The unceasing efforts by the German civil and military authorities to provide a sufficient supply of food to the civilian population within their narrow means were brought to naught by the terribly poor harvests, the catastrophic transport situation, the partisan menace, the removal of the food depots by the Soviets and the impossibility of organizing a satisfactory regular exchange of goods between the large cities and the countryside. While the food supply of the rural population and the small towns was relatively secure, the civilian population of the large cities and the millions of prisoners faced naked starvation. Soviet savagery thus became a legacy of German guilt.

German Counter-Measures

If for no other reason than self-interest, the Germans tried to relieve the catastrophic economic situation and stabilize the economy by importing huge amounts of capital from Germany. Equipment worth one billion RM was imported from the Reich for the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors alone. To this must be added the considerable costs incurred for the transportation sector as well as for road-building equipment, the value of which has been estimated at more than one billion RM. After adding the considerable quantities of coal used as fuel for civilian railroad freight transport, German reconstruction aid for industry and the infrastructure may have totalled more than 2.5 billion RM.[34] This amount does not include agricultural assistance worth about a half-billion RM. The extent of German aid to the civilian sector

may be better appreciated if one realizes that the gross value of industrial production in those areas (valued on the basis of domestic German prices) from the beginning of the occupation until the end of 1943 amounted to approximately 5 billion RM. (This figure includes the industrial raw materials, finished goods, and repairs furnished by that economy to the German army.)[35] Although it is not known precisely what portion of this gross value was actual value-added, comparisons with other countries would suggest that it must have been a little more than 2 billion RM.[36] In other words, *German non-agricultural economic aid was larger than the entire industrial output of these territories during the time of occupation!* The annual net output per worker amounted to 1,000 RM per year. By comparison: The German worker attained a net production of 4,000 RM in the year 1936.[37]

Naturally, a large part of the much-reduced volume of industrial production was absorbed by the German occupation army. Thus, German army requirements and, to an even greater extent, the Soviet scorched-earth strategy, reduced the supply of consumer goods for a native population of about 50 million to almost nothing. The reason for the failure of the German administration to provide sufficient food for the native urban population is best demonstrated by this dilemma. Consumer goods production was practically non-existent because of Soviet destruction and evacuation of all industrial plants and raw materials, the deportation of the trained industrial manpower, and the impossibility of quickly repairing damages. Thus, there was nothing the urban populations could offer to the peasants in exchange for their food. And since the peasant was unable to buy anything for the money he received, he was unwilling to part with his produce.

German economic aid to the occupied Soviet territories amounted to roughly one percent of German gross national product of those years.[38] Even today, this figure is not matched by the level of foreign aid of the industrial nations to developing countries. West Germany, for example, extended foreign aid amounting to about one-half of one percent of GNP since 1960, that is, at a time of relative prosperity and low defense outlays. Indeed, the *economic assistance of about 3 billion RM* (including both industrial and agricultural aid) *furnished to the economy of the occupied Soviet area* is even more remarkable when one realizes this this amount *was equivalent to one-fourth of aggregate gross fixed investment in Greater Germany in the years 1942 and 1943* (12 billion RM).[39]

A comparison of the straight economic tonnage exchanged between the Reich and the Occupied Eastern Territories provides additional information on non-military exchange between those two years. Unfortunately, only data for the year 1943 could be found. (**Table 4**)

Table 4

Non-Military Transports between the German Reich and the Occupied Eastern Territories in the Year 1943
(1,000 tons)

From the Occupied Eastern Territories into the Reich:		
By railroad	4,259	
On waterways	536	4,795
From the Reich into the Occupied Eastern Territories:		
By railroad	2,126	
On waterways	1,911	4,037

Source: Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete. *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 20 November 1944, Military Archives Freiburg/Germany, Bestand RW 31/260.

In terms of tonnage, about 20 percent more freight entered Germany than was delivered by the Reich. Considering that about 2 million tons of grain were furnished by the Occupied Eastern Territories to the German armies in 1943,[40] the tonnage ration of exchange of 7 to 4 was indeed favorable to Germany. However, the goods made available by those territories were mainly staples (raw materials, ores, etc.) with relatively low weight-specific values, while the products from Germany had very high weight-specific values (with the exception of coal to run the railroads, of course). Inasmuch as finished goods tend to be many times more valuable, pound for pound, than staple products, it would seem that the exchange was much more favorable for the Occupied Eastern Territories, even though this rough approximation certainly does not permit us to calculate the actual value of the trade even within a wide margin of error. On balance, the Occupied Eastern Territories delivered agricultural products worth 1.6 billion RM to the Reich and the German armies.[41] The deliveries of German machines, tractors, generators, equipment of all kinds for industry and agriculture, vehicles, railroad coal, etc., amounted to roughly 3.0 billion RM, leaving a difference of about 1.4 billion RM in favor of the Occupied Eastern Territories. From this we would have to deduct the value of captured raw material supplies, the ores and other raw materials produced during the period of occupation, as well as repair services for the German army. It is unknown what value should be applied to these items. However, in view of the very small raw material depots found and the extremely low production of the largely defunct industry (a large part of the industrial output was actually used to rebuild the factories) it must be doubted whether more than 25 percent of industry's meager output of 2 billion RM was absorbed by the oc-

cupation forces. In short, the *Occupied Eastern territories as such added little in economic terms to the fight against the common Bolshevik enemy.* In fact, *they were the beneficiaries of an almost unbelievably generous reconstruction assistance.* This aid, like all so-called foreign aid, was hardly made for purely altruistic reasons. Nevertheless, it was unique in the history of relations between an occupying power and the conquered territory of a country with which it was still locked in mortal combat.

It would be too simplistic to attribute the German economic failure in Russia simply to the Soviet success in dismantling, removing and destroying the industrial base, infrastructure and raw material supplies, to the deportation of millions of workers or to the increasing partisan threat. All of these factors were no doubt very important. Another aspect, however, was at least as significant. When Germany invaded the USSR she did so despite an almost total lack of knowledge of real Soviet military strength, of the size of Soviet arms production, of the capacity of the main centers of military industrial output, or of Soviet preparations for total war. Even worse, Germany was totally unprepared to overcome the serious transportation bottlenecks which developed almost immediately and had no plans whatever for running an economy which had depended on centralized planning directives from Moscow, where every kind of private initiative had been stifled, where the entire administrative, managerial and technical class had been deported and where public records had been largely removed. Not only did Soviet brutality and lack of any restraint differ from the practice during the historic national wars in Europe, but it soon also became apparent that the challenge of a smoking remains of an economy, run on an organizational pattern vastly different from that familiar to Europeans, posed insurmountable problems. The added liability of the disappearance of the entire organizational, administrative and technical apparatus turned a task which was almost impossible to begin with into chaos. Chaos brought starvation, and starvation brought support for the partisans. The book has not yet been written which analyses the German military defeat in Russia in terms of her failure to get the economy of the occupied territories organized effectively and producing again.

The lack of success in finding a solution to the food problem was partly due to Germany's inability to effectively revamp Soviet agriculture during the limited time available and to her scruples in burdening an already downtrodden population even further. Thus, assistance measures like the so-called *Ostackerprogramm,* while gigantic in terms of absolute aid to the agriculture of the Occupied Eastern Territories, were really doomed to failure from the start because they did not remove the cause of the problem. In ef-

fect, Germany tried to keep alive by artificial means the amputated trunk of a society devoid of its brains and muscles.

Implications

It is an indisputable fact that the systematic Soviet dismantling of factories and their shipment to the Urals, the carefully planned removal and destruction of raw materials stocks and food supplies, and the large-scale deportation of civilians were started long before 22 June 1941. Indeed, evidence indicated that these efforts were greatly intensified ten to fourteen days prior to that date. Now, we do not know whether Stalin believed that a German attack would come on the precise date of 22 June 1941, although Sorge and others had provided such information to him. Possibly, Stalin thought that Germany's military build-up was insufficient to allow her to strike on the day reported to him. But this is really beside the point. Both sides knew that the other would attack as soon as it was ready. This fact demolishes forever the charge of a German sneak attack on an unprepared, peace-loving Soviet Union. The initial German military successes were achieved not *because of* the element of surprise but *despite* Stalin's knowledge of German preventive action and *despite* a huge Soviet military build-up for an attack on central Europe, which was the reason for Germany's preventive war in the first place. Furthermore, the allegation of systematic German brutality in Russia is exposed as plain Soviet propaganda. It is true that starvation was widespread in the large cities of the German-occupied Soviet Union, that large numbers of Soviet prisoners-of-war died of hunger, that the Soviet cities were in ruins after the German armies retreated, and that the Soviet population suffered tens of millions of dead during the Second World War. However, we also know that the inhumane Soviet scorched-earth strategy was the cause of hunger in the German-occupied Soviet territories, of an orgy of destruction previously unknown in warfare, and of the death of up to 20 million Soviet civilians, many of whom had been deported to the frozen wastes of Siberia and the Urals where epidemics, lack of housing and medical care, unimaginably hard work loads, and an extreme climate allowed only the toughest to survive. Add the costly human-wave tactics of Soviet military strategy and it is evident that Soviet brutality alone was responsible for the unbelievably huge losses of life suffered by the peoples of the Soviet Union—more than 30 million dead!

The real number of Soviet war losses is not the main focus of this paper, and space does not permit a detailed examination of this subject here. However, an appendix has been added which attempts to arrive at a more realistic estimate of Soviet War

casualties based on an analysis of postwar USSR census figures from 1959, 1970 and 1979 and a comparison with the Soviet census of 1939 adjusted to the extent possible for border and population changes between 1939 and 1945. Suffice it here to say that the *Soviets lost more than 25 percent of their male and almost 9 percent of their female population.* For the population left under Stalin's control at the height of German expansion in Russia, the equivalent losses are 33 percent and 13 percent. It is curious that contemporary standard treatments of Soviet wartime losses generally admit to just 20 million dead. Why this unusual understatement for a wartime ally? Well, to admit that the Soviets lost almost 20 million civilians rather than 6-7 million during the Second World War would *place the responsibility for most of the non-military losses on the Soviets themselves.*

Naturally, the alleged German rampage in Russia fits neatly into the "Holocaust" tale. After all, the area of the Soviet Union occupied by Germany had been populated by more than 3.5 million Jews before 22 June 1941.[42] If one adds the nearly one million Jewish refugees in eastern Poland in early 1940, it is obvious that to maintain the genocide charge it has been necessary to draw a curtain of silence around the Soviet long-term preparation, anticipation, thoroughness, brutality, and scale of scorching the earth during the Second World War. Since the historical framework within which the alleged German mass murder is supposed to have been perpetrated simply did not exist, it became necessary to create the myths which superficially appeared to be substantiated by what was obvious to everyone: The initial swift German advances and the horrible destruction of Soviet cities and countryside after the Germans were forced out again.

It is up to us to lift this curtain of silence and concealment and to replace the myth of Soviet unpreparedness with the horrible truth of Soviet scorched earth.

Appendix

Soviet Casualties During the Second World War

The USSR has never published any data on Soviet war casualties. But the censuses taken in the post-war period can help give a good idea of the probable size of the Soviet losses. A distinction between military and non-military losses, however, still is not possible with any great degree of accuracy. The census of 17 January 1939 found a population of 170.56 million, of which 81.70 million (47.9%) were male. The first post-war census conducted in December 1959 counted 208.83 million inhabitants; males accounted for 94.05 million (45%) of them. A direct comparison between these two counts is not possible, though, because the Soviet Union annexed huge territories in eastern Europe in the period from September 1939 to the summer of 1940 and then again in 1945: the Baltic countries, eastern Poland, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Carpathian Ukraine. In the course of its territorial expansion in the years 1939 and 1940 the Soviet Union absorbed at least 24 million Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Jews, White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Rumanians, to name just the most important nationalities. Also, between January 1939 and June 1941 the natural excess of births over deaths added another 7-8 million people. Thus, at the beginning of the war with Germany in June 1941 there were about 202 million people under Soviet rule.

The sex structure of the Soviet population of 202 million (June 1941) was not affected by the incorporation of 24 million people between 1939 and 1940, because most of the absorbed territories had belonged to the Tsarist empire until 1917 and thus the enormous male casualties suffered during the First World War were reflected in the demographic structure of those areas as well. But the excess births over deaths between 1939 and 1941 did result in a very slight improvement of the male share to 48 percent. To summarize: Of the 202 million people in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war in June 1941, 97 million were male (48%) and 105 million female (52%). A comparison of these figures with the census of 1959 is encumbered by the fact that after the war further territorial changes and forcible population exchanges with neighboring satellite countries took place. For example, the area around Bialystok, which was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939, was returned to Communist post-war Poland. At the same time, the Soviets annexed the Carpathian Ukraine. Then, too, many Poles residing in eastern Poland were removed after the war to areas previously populated by Germans, while many Ukrainians living west of the line of the Bug and San rivers were transferred to the

Development of the Soviet Population: 1939 to 1979
(millions)

	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Total
Census of January **1939**	81.70 (47.9)	88.86 (52.1)	170.56
Increase:			
a) Estimated resident population of eastern Poland, Baltic countries, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Polish refugees from central Poland	+11.50 (47.9)	+12.50 (52.1)	+24.00
b) Estimated natural population growth until June 1941	+3.80 (51.0)	+3.64 (49.0)	+7.44
Estimate for June **1941**	97.00 (48.0)	105.00 (52.0)	202.00
Soviet War Casualties*	23.87	9.00	32.87
Estimate for June **1945**	73.13 (43.2)	96.00 (56.8)	169.13
Net increase 1945–1959:			
Births (at least)	30.10	30.10	60.2
Deaths (estimate)	9.18	11.32	20.5
Net total	20.92 (52.7)	18.78 (47.3)	39.70
Census of December **1959**	94.05 (45.0)	114.78 (55.0)	208.83
Net increase 1959–1970	17.35 (52.7)	15.54 (47.3)	32.89
Census of January **1970**	111.40 (46.1)	130.32 (53.9)	241.72
Net increase 1970–1979	10.90 (52.7)	9.78 (47.3)	20.68
Census of January **1979**	122.30 (46.6)	140.10 (53.4)	262.40

*Difference between the 1941 and 1945 population estimate

Ukraine. Whether all of these changes provided the Soviet Union with a net population gain or loss cannot be determined today with certainty. In addition, there is the well-known fact that many former Soviet citizens fled to the West when the German armies withdrew from Russia. Many of them were able to find their way to western countries despite Allied efforts to force them to return to the Soviet Union after 1945. But these lucky ones are more than matched by the millions deported by the Soviets from central and eastern Europe after the war. It is just about impossible to obtain even approximate figures for these population changes, but it can be argued (and this analysis starts from the basis) that these changes did not produce major additions or subtractions.

The total number and the sex composition of the Soviet population at the end of the war in 1945 can be estimated if we draw on the post-war censuses of December 1959, January 1970 and January 1979. The age groups of 0 to 15 years (1945–1959) accounted for 60.2 million people according to the census of December 1959. Available statistics indicate that the mortality rate averaged 0.72% between 1945 and 1959; on the basis of an average population of 190 million the total number of deaths during this period may be estimated at 20.5 million. Thus, the net population growth until 1959 was almost 40 million. Subtracting this figure from the 1959 population of about 209 million we arrive at a 1945-population of only 169 million! Finally, if we compare the 1941 figure (202 million) with the one for 1945, it is obvious that *the Soviet Union's total war casualties amounted to 33 million!* The distribution of this immense loss of life among both sexes can also be estimated by using the post-war censuses. Between 1959 and 1970 the net population gain was 32.89 million, and between 1970 and 1979 it was 20.68 million. Males accounted for 52.74 percent of this total increase of 53.57 million. Applying this percentage to the increase of barely 40 million between 1945 and 1959, it is obvious that males increased by almost 21 million.

The Soviet censuses of 1939, 1959, 1970 and 1979, as well as the estimates for the years 1941 and 1945, are listed above

Despite the above-mentioned uncertainties pertaining to the various population movements, it is nevertheless possible to state with a great degree of probability that Soviet war losses during the Second World War exceeded 30 million and that only 73 million of the previous 97 million male survived the war. In short, more than 25 percent of the males had to sacrifice their lives for the Soviet cause! The female Soviet population suffered 9 million dead, or almost 9 percent. Citing official sources, the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* (January 1955) reported 13.6 million Red Army deaths during the Second World War. The same figure was published by the Ploetz Publishing House in Wuerzburg/Germany, and other sources—for example, the West German Historical Military Research Institute—mentioned similar figures. If this huge military loss is accurate, Soviet *civilian* losses must have been 19.3 million, of which, in turn, 9 million were female and 10.3 million male. The terrible conditions behind Soviet lines, which included hunger, exhaustion, deaths from exposure to cold, epidemics, lack of medications and medical care, catastrophic living conditions (tents, earth huts), and the terror of an inhumane regime fighting for its survival, caused most of these deaths, as the 9 million female casualties indicate.

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37. *ibid.*
38. Klein, Burton H. *Germany's Economic Preparations for War*, Cambridge/Mass.: 1959, p. 256. The gross national product of the German Reich for 1942 and 1943 was given as RM 143 and RM 160 billion, respectively. Relative to the entire reconstruction assistance of about RM 3 billion (incl. agricultural aid of RM 445 million) provided to the Occupied Eastern Territories this amounts to 1%.

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41. *ibid.*
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43. *ibid.*, 4. Chapter.

Map 1

German-Soviet demarcation, as set by the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939.

Map 2

German-Soviet demarcation line as of the end of November 1940.

Reflections on Auschwitz and West German Justice

THIES CHRISTOPHERSEN

My booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, has become an under-the-counter bestseller. It has appeared in French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish and even Hungarian, as well as in several English-language editions. Actually, there's nothing very remarkable about *The Auschwitz Lie* except that it was written by someone who was in Auschwitz and who recorded his experiences and recollections. People generally prefer to read sensational reports, and my booklet is certainly not that.

In the spirit of Martin Luther, I try to speak positively and influence things for the best. But I was accused of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*) for doing that. I spent a year in prison, even though the charge of popular incitement was eventually dropped. However, the charges of "contempt against the state" and defamation of the Jews, who now enjoy special protection in this regard, were not dropped. I was also accused of defaming the memory of the dead. In this regard, the son of Count Schenk von Stauffenberg appeared as a co-plaintiff against me because I had called his father a traitor. Well, I wouldn't like it either if my own father had been insulted, and so I wasn't offended when Stauffenberg junior sought to rehabilitate his father's reputation. All the same, there wasn't any need for a criminal indictment. If he had sent me a letter justifying his father's actions, I certainly would have published the complete text of it in my magazine. Of

course, I would also have commented on it, as I always do with critical letters from readers.

I'd like to describe my experiences and observations since the publication of my first-person report about Auschwitz. When I wrote my report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gassings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none. All the same, I can say with certainty that there were no mass gassings at Auschwitz. I don't write under a pen name. I even gave my address and telephone number. I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity. I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gassings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions. Even Simon Wiesenthal had to finally admit before a Frankfurt district court that he was actually never in Auschwitz. All of the reports I have heard about are contradictory. Everyone seemed to tell a different story about the gas chambers. They couldn't even agree about where they were supposed to have been located. This is also true of the so-called scholarly literature, which is full of contradictions. But they know more about that than I do.

I want to try to explain how such stories get started. When I tell fairy tales to my grandchildren, I often speak as if I am there in the story myself, so that the children will believe them. Many people also have a tendency to embellish what they say. Some enjoy getting others to believe their false tales. And then there are the so-called "bull stories" (*Latrinenparolen*). Every veteran knows about these. Those interned in prison camps particularly like to invent and spread such stories.

So I have an explanation for how the story got started that corpses were burned in open fires at Auschwitz. There were also "bull stories" at Auschwitz. My maid, Olga, once told my mother, who was visiting me at Auschwitz, about a fire in which people were being burned. I asked Olga about that. She didn't know anything for sure, but she said that a fire could always be seen in the direction of Bielitz. I drove in that direction but found only a large industrial plant where inmates were also working. I looked over the entire camp and inspected all the fires and smoking chimneys. But I didn't find anything suspicious. I asked my col-

leagues, but they answered merely by shrugging their shoulders and saying that I shouldn't believe "bull stories." There was indeed a crematory at Auschwitz. After all, 200,000 people lived there and every city has a crematory. Of course, people died there as well—and not just inmates. The wife of SS Lt. Col. Caesar, for example, died there of typhus. I was satisfied with those answers at the time.

Today I know much more about this matter. At first, those who died at Auschwitz were buried, but because of the high ground water level (one meter) in this area between the Vistula and Sola rivers, that practice couldn't be continued. A labor team headed by SS Staff Sergeant Moll (who had been in charge of the agricultural nursery at Raisko) was assigned to dig up the buried corpses and burn them. This was done on an open fire. The most unbelievable stories were told about this procedure. West German television even broadcast a film of this which was supposedly made in secret by an SS man.

There's another factor which has played a role in all this. The defense attorneys for the so-called German war criminals were not entirely blameless. Every defense attorney wants freedom for his client and, as a result, the attorneys often argued that persons who were already dead were guilty of the alleged crimes. SS Sergeant Moll was killed in action in the final days of the war.

During this period I also received a report from the brother-in-law of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoess. He lives in Flensburg, not far from my home. His report generally confirmed my own statements. Death sentences were certainly carried out and hostages were also shot. I pointed this out in my booklet. But these executions were not carried out in the camp itself, otherwise they would have been heard.

I can't understand why Auschwitz is called a concentration camp. I consider it an internment camp. It's well known that enemy aliens are normally interned during wartime. In order to keep them from fighting against their host country, they are normally not expelled. Of course, one can argue about whether the Jews should have been considered members of an enemy nation. After all, the state of Israel wasn't founded until after the war. Nevertheless, the Jews had already declared war against us in 1933, as the London *Daily Express* reported on 24 March of that year. On that basis, internment would have been justified even then. But the Jews weren't interned until after the outbreak of war in September 1939, and even then not all at once.

I am thus one of the few who can report on the actual situation in the Auschwitz camp, and I have done so. What has it brought me? Two years of living in exile and one year in prison. Even though, prudently enough, there wasn't anything about it in my

verdict, I would never have been imprisoned if I had not written *The Auschwitz Lie*. The charge of "contempt against the state" was only a pretense. There's no parallel for such a charge in any other country of the western world, not even in those that are still monarchies.

I lived in Belgium for two years. Even though I was not recognized as a political refugee, I nevertheless received an official residence permit. The Belgian authorities knew that I was wanted in the German Federal Republic on a charge of "contempt against the state." I was extradited at the request of the German legal authorities. I brought suit against the Belgian government for damages of one million Belgian francs, or 50,000 German marks. And how did the Belgian authorities respond? They began legal proceedings against me to determine whether or not I had broken any Belgian laws. My apartment in Belgium was searched while I was away. Many of my papers were confiscated. That was two years ago. It was discovered that I had once stayed overnight in an Antwerp hotel under the name of Tetje Paulsen. I didn't know anything about that because the room had been reserved for me by a friend who knew me only under the pseudonym Paulsen. A Belgian judge told me that it was dishonorable to stay overnight in a hotel with a strange women, and that doing so made me suspect. It didn't matter that the woman I spent the night with there was my own wife.

But the greatest violation was committed by the German legal authorities. They issued a false report to the news media that I had been arrested while trying to enter the German Federal Republic without a valid passport. Actually, I was arrested in my apartment in Belgium on 26 August 1983 by Belgian police and taken in handcuffs to the border where I was turned over to German police who were waiting for me. I then got to learn how justice is carried out in German prisons. I must say that Auschwitz inmates had more freedom. There were no individual cells or isolation confinement. Even during the war the inmates received unlimited numbers of very welcome "Care" packages. There was even a brothel in Auschwitz for the inmates. In the Flensburg prison not even a chaplain was made available to me.

Around the world, and especially in Germany, people protest against injustice, oppression and persecution of minorities. The injustices during the Third Reich, and there certainly were injustices, are condemned and denounced most loudly of all. I have made it my duty to criticize not the mistakes of the past, but rather the mistakes of the present. I did the same during the Third Reich, but I wasn't imprisoned as a result.

Nowadays there's an awful lot of talk about democracy, or the "rule of the people." That doesn't exist for us today. We are still

living under the rule of the occupation powers. In our homeland there is only room for aliens and for those who serve foreigners. There was once a time when more than 90 percent of the population supported its leadership. I remember that time very well. There was no government peevishness, no unemployment and no fear about the future. Anyone who lived during that time will never forget those things, despite the many lies which have been spread about that time and which are unfortunately believed. The right of national self-determination became a reality. It was never so disregarded as it has been since 1945.

A national socialism could have been a model and guide for the entire world. But it was precisely those powers which ruled over and oppressed other nations which could not tolerate the right of national self-determination. And although many of the colonial empires have disappeared, the nations have been forced into a new and far more terrible form of dependency. U.S. capitalism, and those behind it, have won the struggle for world supremacy.

Surveillance grows more and more pervasive. Orwell was thus not completely wrong. I have experienced it and I believe we all experience it. Terror is now also being used.

What can we do? Nothing? Should we remain silent? Should we smother the cry of outrage in our hearts? Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be inspected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and in justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.

Correspondence continued from page 8

Such an order was never found. Even the publishers of the IMT documents write about the allegation of Kurt Becher (PS-3762): "In *September/October* 1944 Himmler *may* have issued an order to stop the killing of the Jews."

Raul Hilberg has the nerve to write on page 631 of *The Destruction of the European Jews* that:

> In November, 1944, Himmler decided that for all practical purposes the Jewish question had been solved. On the 25th of that month he ordered the dismantling of the killing installations.

In his footnote he dares to give as a source: "Affidavit by Kurt Becher, March 8, 1946, PS-3762," which says nothing of the kind.

—Robert Faurisson

Article by Darryl Hattenhauer on Reagan

Since Mr. Hattenhauer's article [Winter 1984 *JHR*] treads on political-economic turf, I feel qualified to comment on it.

First, it is not clear to me how this sort of subject fits in with historical revisionism.

He outlines, in somewhat amusing fashion, many of the platitudes used by Reagan for "sales." My question is: Why select out Reagan on this kind of thing? Was Carter any different? Or, JFK?

The underlying fallacies of many government policies come not from Mr. Reagan or other figureheads, but rather from the Power Elite who, in the main, set those policies. And, where do they get their ideas? Usually from the likes of Dr. Kissinger and other bright, shining lights. Mr. Hattenhauer believes that there is energy scarcity. He, himself, has bought the store. As one who has worked on this energy business for many years, I can say with some confidence that there *never* was any real scarcity. The "crisis" was contrived to raise oil prices, and to keep us involved with our "ally" the State of Israel!

In the space shuttle program, today, we are using more advanced sensing techniques to take "pictures" of the earth's surface and subsurface. Imaging from long distance in space permits light spectra analysis of the earth, and permits basic determination of mineral deposits. We have known since the early 1960s where all the important mineral reserves have been located (e.g., oil in Alaska and in the Malvinas), and it was known that there were no shortages in terms of potential reserves. Reputable geologists, reporting on oil reserves, right up to 1972 saw no shortages. The world is awash with oil and energy. The energy crisis and fears of scarcity were all a hoax, a very profitable hoax.

So, why does Mr. Hattenhauer go after Reagan on his energy policy. Well, I can only surmise that his concerns derive from his having "bought the store" with respect to the idea that there is true scarcity.

It seems to me that if Mr. Hattenhauer wanted to say that all this Blarney spoken to the public was disingenuous, and that politicians were all remiss for not being more candid about the issues, that would be one thing. But, if he is going to take policies to task on their merits, he had better establish his own expertise on the subject matter itself.

—A.J. Eckstein

Book Review

A TRIAL ON TRIAL: THE GREAT SEDITION TRIAL OF 1944 by Lawrence Dennis and Maximilian St. George. Torrance, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1984, 503pp, $11.00, Pb, ISBN 0-939484-20-X

About fifteen years ago, in the midst of the raging debate over American involvement in the Indochina War, which I had come to oppose, I wrote a heated denunciation of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial of 1969. At that time I knew nothing of the Great Sedition Trial of 1944, which was, in some ways, a strikingly similar judicial farce.

Of course, the Sedition Trial of 1944 has been consigned to the Orwellian memory hole by America's post-World-War-Two political, economic, intellectual, cultural, academic and media establishments. After all, a basic and unquestioned premise of all post-war Establishment thinking has been the necessity and nobility of Roosevelt II's interventionist warmongering. And the reality of the mass sedition trial of 1944 rather glaringly conflicts with at least one aspect of the mythological version of Roosevelt's War, the myth that the Roosevelt regime displayed an unusually tender solicitude for civil liberties during wartime. The IHR's reprinting of Dennis and St. George's classic work on the 1944 Sedition Trial is an important contribution to the task of "blasting the historical blackout" that still keeps most Americans in the dark about Roosevelt's War.

Lawrence Dennis was himself one of the twenty-nine defendants charged with conspiring to undermine the morale of the armed forces in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. His co-author Maximilian St. George, was defense attorney for Joseph McWilliams, another of the defendants in the trial.

The book is not so much an account of the trial as an analysis of it. Dennis and St. George identify the people and the purposes behind the trial, how and why it came about. And they devote much of the book to a dissection of the government's case against the accused seditionists. This detailed legal discussion is, perhaps inevitably, somewhat repetitious and, therefore, somewhat tedious. But there is much here that should be of interest to civil libertarians as well as revisionists.

The prosecutor, O. John Rogge, accused the defendants of membership in a world-wide Nazi conspiracy. His case consisted largely of out-of-context quotations from the writings of the defendants. These quotations were supposed to show that the defendants agreed with Nazi criticisms of Communism,

democracy, Jews and/or the warmongering Roosevelt regime. Thus, agreement with the Nazis on one or more points was made out to be the equivalent of full-fledged, conscious participation in a conspiracy to Nazify the planet. Dennis and St. George painstakingly debunk this ludicrous attempt to prove guilt-by-association. They also include a chapter calling for an end to the abuse of the charge of "conspiracy." Perhaps those revisionists with a penchant for parroting conspiracy theories based on similar guilt-by-association arguments will take heed of the author's views.

Dennis and St. George point out (p. 83) that "One of the many ironies of the mass Sedition Trial was that the defendants were charged with conspiring to violate a law aimed at communists and a communist tactic, that of trying to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces. What makes this so ironical is that many of the defendants, being fanatical anti-Communists, had openly supported the enactment of this law." How's that for being hoisted with one's own petard? As the authors go on to say, "The moral is one of the major points of this book: laws intended to get one crowd may well be used by them to get the authors and backers of the law. This just another good argument for civil liberties and freedom of speech."

Perhaps the backers of the prosecution of Ernst Zundel in Canada for publishing "false news" about "the Holocaust" should contemplate this particular point. Imagine how many Canadian Holocausters would end up behind bars if the law against publishing "false news" about "the Holocaust" were ever used against *them*. There wouldn't be enough jails to hold 'em.

Here is another of the ironies of the Sedition Trial. As Dennis and St. George pointed out for the benefit of the "extremists of the left" who supported the trial, the same sort of guilt-by-association argument could easily be used to make a similar case against those same leftists. They write (p. 211), "If anti-Semitism equals Nazism and Nazism equals conspiracy to cause insubordination, any brand of socialism can be made to equal Russian communism and, if popular feeling were aroused against Russia, Russian communism could equal conspiracy to commit almost any crime in the catalogue." This is a rather prescient statement, considering it was first published in 1945. Three years later, with the Cold War in full swing, the Truman regime indicted twelve top Communist leaders (including Eugene Dennis) *under the Smith Act.*

In Chapter XIX, "Beating an Improper Prosecution," Dennis and St. George give their advice on how to fight a free speech battle in American courts. Thus, at a time when the Zionist Inquisitors are resorting more and more to outright governmental censorship to stamp out historiography heresy, *A Trial on Trial* takes on incresing practical importance. I recommend it highly.

—*L.A. Rollins*

Roosevelt's 'Secret Map' Speech

Franklin Roosevelt often lied to further his goals. In a radio address broadcast to the nation on 23 October 1940, for example, he gave "this most solemn assurance" that he had not given any "secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any government or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this nation in any war or for any other purpose." But American, British and Polish documents (mostly released many years later) proved that this "most solemn assurance" was a bald-faced lie. Roosevelt had, in fact, made numerous secret arrangements to involve the U.S. in war.

Of all his speeches, perhaps the best example of Roosevelt's readiness to lie is his 1941 Navy Day address, broadcast over nationwide radio on 27 October.

A lot had happened in the months preceding that address. On 11 March 1941 Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease bill into law, permitting increased deliveries of military aid to Britain in violation of U.S. neutrality and international law. In April Roosevelt illegally sent U.S. troops to occupy Greenland. On 27 May he proclaimed a state of "unlimited national emergency," a kind of presidential declaration of war that circumvented a power constitutionally reserved to Congress. Following the Axis attack against the USSR in June, the Roosevelt administration began delivering enormous quantities of military aid to the beleagured Soviets. These shipments also blatantly violated international law. In July Roosevelt illegally sent American troops to occupy Iceland.

The President began his Navy Day address by recalling that German submarines had torpedoed the U.S. destroyer *Greer* on 4 September 1941 and the U.S. destroyer *Kearny* on 17 October. In highly emotional language, he characterized these incidents as unprovoked acts of aggression directed against all Americans. He declared that although he had wanted to avoid conflict, shooting had begun and "history has recorded who fired the first shot." What Roosevelt deliberately failed to mention was the fact that in each case the U.S. destroyers had been engaged in attack operations against the submarines, which fired in self-defense only as a last resort. Hitler wanted to avoid war with the United States, and had expressly ordered German submarines to avoid conflicts with

U.S warships at all costs, except to avoid imminent destruction. Roosevelt's standing "shoot on sight" orders to the U.S Navy were specifically designed to make incidents like the ones he so piously condemned inevitable. His provocative efforts to goad Hitler into declaring war against the U.S. had failed and most Americans still opposed direct involvement in the European conflict.

And so, in an effort to convince his listeners that Germany was a real threat to American security, Roosevelt continued his Navy Day speech with a startling announcement: "Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. I have in my possession a secret map, made in Germany by Hitler's government—by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America as Hitler proposes to reorganize it." This map, the President explained, showed South America, as well as "our great life line, the Panama Canal," divided into five vassal states under German domination. "That map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States as well."

Roosevelt went on to reveal that he also had in his possession "another document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan to abolish all existing religions—Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish alike" which Germany will impose "on a dominated world, if Hitler wins."

"The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be ever liquidated. . . . In the place of the churches of our civilization there is to be set up an international Nazi church, a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi government. And in the place of the Bible, the words of *Mein Kampf* will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in the place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols: the swastika and the naked sword."

Roosevelt emphasized the importances of his "revelations" by declaring: "Let us well ponder . . . these grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism . . ." All Americans, he said, "are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose on us." Accordingly, "we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

The German government immediately responded to Roosevelt's speech by denouncing his "documents" as preposterous frauds. The Italian government declared that if Roosevelt did not publish his map "within 24 hours, he will acquire a sky high reputation as a forger." At a press conference the next day, a reporter rather naturally asked the President for a copy of the "secret map." But Roosevelt refused, insisting only that it came from "a source which is undoubtedly reliable."

As has often happened, the truth about the map did not emerge until many years after the war: It was a forgery produced by the British intelligence service, most probably at its technical laboratory in Ontario, Canada. William Stephenson (code name: Intrepid), chief of British intelligence operations in North America, passed it on to U.S. intelligence chief William Donovan, who gave it to Roosevelt. In a memoir published in late 1984, wartime British agent Ivar Bryce claimed credit for thinking up the "secret map" scheme. Of course, the other "document" cited by Roosevelt, purporting to outline German plans to abolish the world's religions, was just as fraudulent as the "secret map."

Some U.S. officials were concerned about British wartime efforts to deceive the American government and people. In a 5 September 1941 memorandum forwarded to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle warned that British intelligence agents were manufacturing phony documents detailing supposed German conspiracies. Americans should be "on our guard" against these British-invented "false scares," Berle concluded.

It's doubtful if any of Roosevelt's great contemporaries, including Stalin, Hitler and even Churchill, ever delivered a speech as loaded with falsehoods as brazen as those in his 1941 Navy Day address. On at least one occasion, Roosevelt privately admitted his willingness to lie to further his goals. During a conversation on 14 May 1942 with his close Jewish adviser, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the President candidly remarked: "I may have one policy for Europe and one diametrically opposite for North and South America. I may be entirely inconsistent, and furthermore, I am perfectly willing to mislead and tell untruths if it will help us win the war . . ."

—*Mark Weber*

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About the Contributors

DAVID BAXTER was born in Ohio of American pioneer stock. During the Great Depression he served as a W.P.A. administrator, but his enthusiasm for the New Deal turned to bitter disappointment when President Roosevelt launched his campaign to push America into war. As a result of his anti-war writings, Baxter became a co-defendant in the infamous Sedition Trial of 1944. In the years following the ill-fated judicial venture, Baxter worked as a newspaper editor and columnist, theologian and contributor to numerous Christian periodicals. The Rev. Baxter and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in 1983.

JOHN BENNETT is a leading Australian civil libertarian and revisionist. He is an honors graduate of the University of Melbourne in both law (1958) and arts (1966). Since 1968 he has worked for the Attorney General's Department, most recently in the legal aid section. For many years Bennett was the Secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. He is now the President of the Australian Civil Liberties Union. Bennett is the author of *Your Rights*, a standard Australian citizen's rights reference handbook that has already appeared in eleven updated editions.

KARL OTTO BRAUN was born in Upper Bavaria in 1910. He studied English, history, geography and international law at the universities of Munich, London and Berlin. From 1934 to 1937 he studied Japanese language and culture at the Oriental institute of the University of Berlin. He entered the German foreign service in 1937. The next year he joined the staff of the German Embassy in Tokyo and then served with the German General Consulate in Osaka, 1939–1940. From 1941 until the end of the war in 1945 he was with the East Asia Section of the Political Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin. During the final two years he headed the Section. Dr. Braun now lives in Munich.

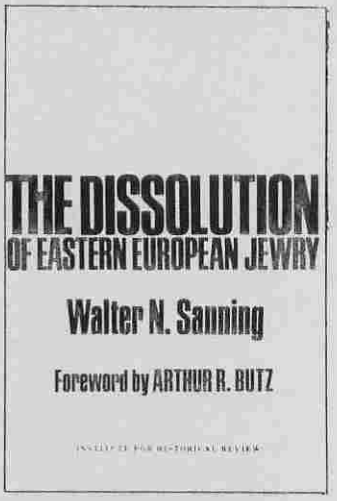
THIES CHRISTOPHERSEN was wounded in 1940 while serving as a German soldier in the western campaign. He was later assigned to a special agricultural research unit that was transferred to Auschwitz where Christophersen lived and worked from January to December 1944. He recorded his experiences and observations there in a booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, which first appeared in German in 1973 and has since been published in numerous foreign-language editions. For expressing his views, Christophersen was arrested and imprisoned for a year by the West German government. Since 1969 he has been the publisher and editor of the quarterly journal, *Die Bauernschaft*.

DAVID L. HOGGAN is probably best known for his path-breaking study of the origins of the Second World War, *The Forced War*. Dr. Hoggan received his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1948. His academic career has included teaching posts at the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State College, and the Amerika Institut of the University of Munich. He is the author of *Frankreichs Widerstand gegen den zweiten Weltkrieg*, *Der unnoetige Krieg*, *The Myth of the New History* and, most recently, the two-volume *Das blinde Jahrhundert*.

L.A. ROLLINS is Contributing Editor of *Prima Facie*, a newsletter monitoring "Holocaust" cultism, censorship and the suppression of free inquiry. He has been a freelance contributor to other publications, including *Reason*, *New Libertarian*, *Critique*, *Spotlight* and *The JHR*. He is the author of *The Myth of Natural Rights*.

WALTER N. SANNING is the author of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. He was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in an area that is now part of the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s he emigrated to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated with a B.A. (high honors) in international business from a prominent Pacific Northwest university, and did Ph.D.-level graduate work at a major Ivy League university on the East Coast. He then taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major West Coast university. The Sanning family moved to Germany in 1970 where he has worked even since for a major financial institution. Mr. Sanning and his wife have four children, all of them born in the United States.

MARK WEBER received his Master's Degree in modern European history in 1977 from Indiana University. He has contributed numerous articles and reviews to *The Journal* and other publications. Weber presented papers to the 1980 and 1982 IHR conferences and served as Master of Ceremonies at the February 1985 conference.



THE DISSOLUTION

". . . is the first full length serious study of World War II related Jewish population changes . . . the perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media, for whom recent Jewish population changes are also of major interest, although such dry terminology is rarely employed by them."

—A.R. Butz (from his Foreword)

Recent years have seen the appearance of a number of books radically revising the standard history and interpretation of the "Holocaust." These works have held that the "Holocaust" itself—defined as the extermination by the Germans during World War II of some six million European Jews—is in fact a popular myth, that the Nazi government's "Final Solution" of the Jewish Question was in reality only a program of emigration and evacuation to camps in the East, not of killing; the gas chambers did not exist and Auschwitz, Treblinka and the other camps were merely labor camps, not killing centers.

In the controversy that was bound to be generated over so significant a revision of recent—and still politically-charged—history, one question naturally came to the fore:

If the Jews were not killed, where did they go?

Although the revisionists have dealt—in some cases at considerable length—with this particular question within the context of their broader studies, until now there has not been a single work entirely devoted to it. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* fills this gap, providing the most comprehensive and extensively-documented explanation ever of the movements and fate of the European cradle of World Jewry in the crucial years leading up to, during, and immediately after World War II. The book's conclusions offer a startling confirmation of the revisionist thesis of the "Holocaust": the vast majority of the "exterminated" Jews in fact *survived,* many being absorbed into the Soviet Union during the war itself, many others "disappearing"—until documented now—in the massive postwar emigrations, particularly to Palestine and the United States.

Author Sanning demonstrates, moreover, that there never were "six million" Jews under control of the Germans at any time, and that only the *presumption* of a higher Jewish population-growth rate than actually existed in Europe during the twentieth century, combined with the *over-counting* of Jews in countries from which they emigrated and their *under-counting* in countries to which they immigrated, has allowed the "six million exterminated" story to claim a demographic justification. The work of Sanning in *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* now invalidates that justification, and will be sure to add fire to the debate over one of the most disturbing historical questions of our century.

Born in what is now part of Soviet Russia, Walter N. Sanning spent his childhood years in wartime Germany. Having moved to the United States after the war, he did his undergraduate work (business administration) as a major West Coast university (*magna cum laude*), and received a scholarship from one of the East Coast Ivy League universities where he concentrated his graduate studies on international business, finance and economics. Following this, he taught a number of years at a well-known West Coast university and returned to private industry in the early 1970s where he has meanwhile assumed a leading position. His career has enabled him to devote much of his time to researching in U.S. and German archives. He is married and speaks English and German.

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